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VOL. XXIV.

The Pagan Divinities and their Worship as Depicted in the Works of Saint Augustine Exclusive of the *City of God*

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF LETTERS OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY
SISTER MARY DANIEL MADDEN, M. A.
of the
Sisters of Saint Francis, Rochester, Minnesota

THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA
WASHINGTON, D. C.
1930

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PREFACE

The purpose of this present study is to investigate the treatment of the pagan divinities and their worship in the works of Saint Augustine exclusive of the *City of God.* Although investigators in the field of Roman religion have drawn much material from these works, no one of them has attempted to gather all the available evidence and to present it in a systematic and accessible form. It is to meet this want of such a systematic presentation that this study has been undertaken.

No attempt has been made to discuss in a detailed manner each fact noted. Because of the bulk and variety of the material such a procedure would have increased unduly the size of this monograph and would have necessitated its restriction to a very limited portion of the total evidence collected. Furthermore, such a treatment of the facts in detail should be made only in conjunction with the additional data contained in the *City of God.*

The references to the pagan demons in the present monograph are for the most part incidental. The treatment of the pagan demons in the works of Saint Augustine under consideration is so bound up with the demonology of Judaism and Christianity that this subject should be dealt with only in a specific study. No attempt has been made to exhaust the references to astrology; but in as much as its discussion is often intimately linked with the treatment of the demons, all the more important allusions to astrology in the works of Augustine studied are included at least incidentally in the material on the pagan divinities here presented.

For the classification and designations of the Roman divinities and for the order of presentation of the results of the present study, Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer,* 2nd edition, Munich, 1912, has been followed as closely as practicable. Whenever an allusion to a pagan divinity or a pagan practice is of special significance, reference is made to Wissowa, Pauly-Wissowa, Roscher, or other works treating of Roman religion, if the point in question is discussed in these works. In presenting the material relating to each divinity or phase of worship, Saint Augustine's works are always cited in the same general order to facilitate reference. This is the order adopted by Bardenhewer in his classification of Saint Augustine's writings in the fourth volume of his *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur,* Freiburg, 1924. A table of the works of Saint Augustine cited in this study, together with the exact or approximate dates of these works and the abbreviations used for them, is added. These abbreviations follow in the main those adopted for Augustine's works in the *Index Librorum Scriptorum Inscriptionum* to the Berlin *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae.* In presenting the material on a divinity or a phase of worship, enough of the context is summarized or quoted to make all references clear. In all instances of the more significant references the Latin text is cited.

I wish to express my sincere thanks to Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, Head of the Department of Greek and Latin, who suggested this study. I acknowledge with gratitude the valuable suggestions and generous assistance given by Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, Instructor in Latin and Greek, throughout the development of this investigation. Thanks are due also to the Reverend James Marshall Campbell, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Latin and Greek, and to the Reverend Edwin Ryan, S.T.D., Instructor in English, for their careful reading and criticism of the manuscript.

SISTER MARY DANIEL.

Feast of Saint Monica, 1930.

INTRODUCTION

For the purposes of this study it is quite unnecessary to present a survey of the conflict between Christianity and paganism throughout the first three centuries of the Empire. The Christians emerged from this conflict with new zeal and increased strength. Shortly after the last great persecution of Diocletian, the Edict of Toleration (313), whereby Christianity was officially tolerated, really marked the beginning of the ultimate triumph of Christianity in the Empire. It should be emphasized that paganism did not at once decline, nor was it crushed by the anti-pagan legislation of the immediate successors of Constantine. In fact paganism still remained a formidable obstacle to Christianity for more than another century. In the cities it was not completely put down before the days of Justinian, and in country districts it persisted even longer. Paganism was intimately bound up with Roman tradition, Roman law and social order. In Rome, Alexandria, Athens, and other pagan centers, the public worship of the pagan gods went on much as before. Many of the old senatorial families of Rome clung tenaciously to their old pagan traditions, and the pagan worship was publicly practiced in the Capital down to the end of the fourth century. Although wealthy pagans suffered penalties and confiscation of property as a result of anti-pagan legislation, nevertheless they kept up much of their old worship. The people who had enjoyed the spectacles and games in honor of the pagan gods felt the curtailment of the number and splendor of these forms of amusement, and actually the discontinuance of the pagan games and spectacles was very gradual. In the poorer country districts paganism was left undisturbed in many cases for a long time. It should not be forgotten that, in the provinces themselves, many local cults persisted until the end of antiquity, as, for example, in Greece, Spain, Gaul, and Northern Africa.

In treating of the mighty struggle between Christianity and paganism in the fourth century especially, it must be noted that the Christians at the beginning of this struggle were unquestionably a minority, although this minority was an organized and powerful one. Furthermore, while it is practically impossible to arrive at any certain numbers or even proportions, it can be said that on the whole this minority, at the beginning of the struggle, was relatively small in the West.[1]

The temporary success of Julian is in itself a testimony to the still great strength of paganism even after the middle of the fourth century. His attempt, however, to impose upon the Roman world a composite form of paganism, chiefly Hellenic in its features, was not enthusiastically received by the Roman Senate steeped in the Roman tradition; nor did this reconstructed paganism make appeal to the masses of the Empire. The failure of Julian to reëstablish paganism in a lasting manner may be said to mark the definite victory of Christianity and the relatively rapid decline of paganism as a formidable force in the State.

Gratian, in refusing the office of Pontifex Maximus, struck a serious blow at paganism. The defraying of the expenses for the public celebrations by the Imperial treasury was prohibited (382) by this emperor, who not only issued the order but enforced it. His removal of the statue of Victory from the Senate House was the occasion of a long and bitter struggle, in which the Christian cause was championed by Saint Ambrose, while Symmachus fought tenaciously for the pagan side. But the pagan cause was lost in spite of the fact that leading members of the senate gave generously of their services to the old priesthoods and personally defrayed the expenses connected with the celebration of rites and the restoration of temples. There were faint hopes for a revival of paganism under Eugenius (392) and later under Attalus. However, paganism could not gain even a temporary victory.

The work of legislation against paganism was carried out vigorously by Theodosius I (378-395). Edicts were published against pagan worship, and many cults were actually suppressed. In 392 the practice of pagan worship was forbidden under the same penalties which were inflicted for treason and sacrilege. When Honorius ascended the throne as Emperor of the West (395), he too issued edicts against the public worship of the pagan gods, and the revenues of the temples were confiscated and the temples themselves were destroyed. Upon the death of Arcadius (408) in the East, Theodosius II came to the throne. Like his predecessors, he vigorously prohibited worship of the pagan divinities. This recurrence of anti-pagan legislation is in itself a clear indication of the persistence of paganism; despite the anti-pagan legislation, paganism still had many devotees who practiced the pagan rites in secret. In Athens pagan philosophy was openly taught until the closing of schools and confiscation of their property by Justinian in 529. Justinian, by striking at the fountain-head of pagan philosophy and rhetoric, eliminated the last vital force supporting the old pagan rites.[2]

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[1] On the number of Christians in the Roman Empire at the time of Constantine, see Harnack's summary of the question in *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums*, 4th ed., II, 946-958.

For a proper understanding of the great struggle between Christianity and paganism in the late Empire, a knowledge of the essential features of the paganism of the period is necessary. This late paganism differed in many respects from the polytheism of the Republic and early Empire. It was a curious syncretism of the old Roman religion, Oriental cults, Neoplatonism, and divination together with other superstitious practices. Roman patriotism was a strong factor in retaining a hold on the traditional rites of the ancient Roman deities who for so many centuries were highly esteemed in the religion of the state. As has been noted, the senators cherished the rites in honor of these divinities long after the mass of the people had ceased to throng the temples to pay honor to the old deities of the Roman state.

The Oriental cults with their impressive rites and organized priesthoods gradually gained great numbers of zealous worshippers during the first centuries of the Empire. The masses were attracted by the mystical and purificatory rites of these cults, which offered new concepts of a future life and salvation. The worshippers were not restricted to the rites of any one cult but were free to take active part in the worship of any of the Oriental divinities. The most important of these were Isis, Mithras, and Magna Mater.

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[2] For a good summary of the legislation against paganism, see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, 99-100.

The cult of Mithras gradually attracted great numbers of devotees who exerted a wide influence.

At the same time that the Oriental cults were spreading throughout the Empire, Plotinus, an Egyptian mystic (205-270) became practically the founder of a new system of philosophy, which was called Neoplatonism.[3] The philosophical system of Plotinus was modified by his followers, Porphyry (223-304) and Iamblichus (d. cir. 330), in such a way as to give all pagan beliefs a place in it. Thus, the late paganism took on a philosophical aspect, and it is for this reason that its doctrines, as professed in intellectual circles, were so formidable to Christianity. This new pantheistic system aimed to find some means of communication with what was divine. Because of the principle of emanation, by which the universe was believed to have come from an Absolute Being, the Primal Cause of all things, the source of all existence and the goal to which all existence would return, the Neoplatonists taught that every pagan divinity had its place in this cycle of existence. This concession to polytheism enabled the Roman to cling to the old gods, which he thought had shared in the Roman conquests of the world. The cultured Hellenist was trained to seek union with the divine, which was beyond all the gods. Likewise, the magician could go on practising his arts of divination and magic unmolested; in fact Neoplatonism gave a tremendous impetus to divination in all its forms. But Christianity alone was debarred from entrance into this association of various religious practices. Christianity in its exclusive claim to be the one religion could have no part in the system promulgated by Porphyry and his disciples. Hence Neoplatonism, as the intellectual leader of dying paganism, inevitably came into intellectual conflict with the most powerful and ever growing denial of its syncretism; namely, Christianity.

The edicts enacted against various superstitious practices, particularly magic and astrology, in the time of Augustine show how persistent and attractive these forms of paganism were in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. Constantius issued edicts against divination and magic in all its forms. In 356, he affirmed anew his resolution to punish with death all who offered sacrifice and venerated statues of the pagan gods. According to an edict of 357, capital punishment and the vengeance of the sword awaited those who consulted augury, *mathematici,* Chaldean magicians, and others, who were the exponents of sorcery. There was a vigorous revival of augury during the reign of Julian. Considerable moderation was shown by his successor Jovian, who sanctioned the pagan rites performed in secret, but prohibited those performed in public. In his own camp he made use of augury and conformed to its decisions. Valentinian I in general was tolerant, but he also issued edicts against magic and nocturnal sacrifices. Valens in 371 took a more active stand against paganism. When certain officials consulted the magicians in regard to the successor of Valens, they were imprisoned. Notwithstanding laws forbidding superstitious practices, divination through sacrifices continued to enjoy a certain tolerance in the West. Valentinian II issued an edict in which he distinguished the traditional augury from divination and magic. He thought that augury had no relation to magic, and that whatever religious manifestation was permitted by the ancestors of the Romans was not criminal. He did not censure augury as such, but only what was criminal in its practical application.

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[3] Upón the religious aspects of Neoplatonism, see T. M. Lindsay, The Triumph of Christianity, in *The Cambridge Medieval History,* I, 87-114, and Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums,* particularly 20-223.

Under Theodosius I there was a great change. In 387, he proscribed all daily and nocturnal sacrifice. In 385 he forbade, under penalty of death, the inspection of the entrails of animals as practised by those who wished to learn the secrets of the future. As it was very difficult to distinguish between ordinary sacrifices and sacrifices of divination, Theodosius resolved to prohibit all practices of the pagan religion by this decree. Zosimus laments the force of this edict in the East, but sacrifices were offered there long after this time. The Christian bishops were annoyed at the long and slow process of the disappearance of paganism and the persistent superstitious respect for the pagan rites. Hence Theodosius prohibited all acts of idolatry in 392. Contrary to these prohibitions, idolatry continued to be rather commonly practiced throughout most of the fifth century. The belief in the arts of magic, divination, and astrology was so deeply rooted in the civilization of the time that it was never universally suppressed, although frequently condemned by legislation with severe penalties attached.[4]

There was thus a problem of paganism to plague every zealous ordinary in the Empire even at the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries. Augustine's treatment of this problem falls into two rather clear-cut divisions; that is, his treatment of pagan religion in the *City of God* and that, in his other works. The *City of God* was occasioned by the charges made against Christianity by the pagans following the sack of Rome by Alaric, which made such a profound impress on the Roman world. His purpose in this work was, on the one hand, to refute the pagan charges made against Christianity and, on the other, to show the justice of the Christian claims and the truth of the Christian religion. It is mainly an historical and philosophical analysis of paganism, presented as a formal and systematic attack on the pagan worship as such and a refutation of the pagan charges aginst Christianity. The references in the *City of God* to contemporary pagan worship, except in its Neoplatonic phases, are relatively few.

In his other works Saint Augustine for the most part had to meet practical problems as they developed in his career as bishop in North Africa, where he came to be looked upon as the champion of Catholic Christianity against pagans and heretics. Paganism as it existed in Northern Africa at the time of Augustine was a strange mingling of the old Phoenician, Roman, and Oriental cults. Since the Romans had a way of assimilating or identifying the cults of conquered nations with their own cults, it is not surprising to find that the names of Punic cults became predominantly Roman. Such popular cult-titles as Baal-Saturn, Melcarth-Hercules, Tanit-Caelestis, Juno-Caelestis are indicative of a fusion, so to speak, of various cults. Strangely enough, in spite of the existence of these peculiarly African cults even in the late fourth century, as known from inscriptions and from writers of that period, there are surprisingly few references to these Phoenician divinities in either the *City of God* or the works under consideration. The cosmopolitan population of North Africa, particularly in the cities, came under the spell of the worship of Mithras and Isis. Among the higher classes Neoplatonism exercised a great influence.

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[4] For an account of the edicts issued against divination by Theodosius, see Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire de la Divination,* IV, 347-349.

During the late fourth century and the early fifth, the Christian communities in Africa were torn asunder by internal struggles. Thus, oftentimes, during the age of Augustine the combat with the heretics was far more formidable than the struggle with paganism. Social conditions in North Africa in this period were corrupt, as shown also by many sources other than Augustine's writings. It was in a population composed of large numbers of pagans of various classes, of aggressive groups of heretics, and of an orthodox Christian society that only too often in practical life belied its Christian profession that Saint Augustine as Bishop of Hippo championed the cause of orthodox Christian faith and morality. In the present investigation, only one phase of the problem which he had to meet is considered; namely, his struggle with paganism. From a study of his works it is only too evident that at the beginning of his episcopate paganism was still a great power in North Africa; and, at the close of his career (430), in spite of his great efforts to stamp out the pagan worship, many pagan practices still persisted.

CHAPTER I

THE PAGAN DIVINITIES

Exclusive of the *City of God* the references to the pagan divinities in the works of Saint Augustine are for the most part widely scattered and are frequently of a quite incidental character. Hence to make this more or less isolated material accessible it has seemed best to combine all the material pertaining to a divinity and to present it under the heading of the divinity. In all cases the circumstances of the allusions are sufficiently indicated to make these allusions intelligible. As already mentioned, the classification of divinities is based on Wissowa.

A. DI INDIGETES.

1. Janus.

An incidental allusion to Janus is made in *Contra Faustum.*

Contra Faustum.

Augustine reminds Faustus of the pagan custom of naming the days of the week after their gods. He adds that the names of pagan divinities are also given to the months. Thus, January is named in honor of Janus.[1]

2. Jupiter.

The allusions to Jupiter found in the writings which come within the scope of this investigation show that Augustine is comparatively little concerned with the active worship of Jupiter, as such; he emphasizes the various interpretations and opinions concerning Jupiter chiefly from the historical point of view. References to Jupiter occur in the *Confessions, De Ordine, De Haeresibus, De Doctrina Christiana, Quaestionum in Heptateuchum, Enarrationes*

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[1] . . . Diebus quippe istis, quorum septenarius numerus in orbem redit, deorum suorum nomina Gentes imposuerunt. De quibus ait Apostolus, quod *coluerunt et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori* (*Rom.* I, 25). . . . Sed et mensibus imposuerunt nomina deorum suorum. . . . Porro Ianuarius a Iano appellatus est . . . . *C. Faust.* 18, 5. For interpretations of Janus, see *Civ.* 7, 7-10.

in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum, In Iohannis Evangelium, Sermones and *Epistulae.*

Confessions.

In the first book of the *Confessions* Augustine laments the pagan character of the schools in which the fables of Jupiter were taught to him and, he states, are still being taught. It is difficult even for a Christian to escape the effects of such evil instruction which depicts the conduct of Jupiter especially in the words of the poets,[2] which all are supposed to memorize in order to acquire eloquence, and for the recital of which they are praised. He questions whether any of the masters who teach these fables of Jupiter would listen to some one quoting Cicero's opinion that Homer created these fictions and transferred things human to the gods, and that Cicero himself would have preferred that he had transferred divine things to men.[3] Augustine thinks that it would have been nearer to the truth to say that divine attributes were given to sinful men so that, under the appearance of celestial gods, crimes committed by them would not seem to be crimes, and those imitating them would seem to follow the examples of the gods.[4]

De Ordine.

In *De Ordine* there is an incidental allusion to Jupiter. The Muses are spoken of as the daughters of Jupiter and Memory.[5]

De Haeresibus.

An historical reference is made to the outstanding place given to Jupiter among the gods. Among other absurd illusions of Simon the Magician was his desire that the people would believe that he was Jupiter.[6]

De Doctrina Christiana.

Augustine alludes to the error of pagan superstition which represents the nine Muses as the daughters of Jupiter and Memory. He states that Varro refutes this opinion and is the authority for the following version of their origin. A certain state wished to have three beautiful statues of the Muses to be placed as an offering in the temple of Apollo. The order was given to three different artists with the intention that the most beautifully executed group would be selected. However, when the statues were received, they were of equal beauty and so pleasing to the state that the nine statues were purchased. At a later date they received their names from the poet Hesiod. Thus, Jupiter was no longer considered the father of the Muses, but they were looked upon as the works of three artists. Three was the number of Muses originally ordered because there are three kinds of sound, produced by the voice, by blowing, and by striking.[7]

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[2] He alludes to Terence in particular. See Ter. *Eun.* 585-589.

[3] . . . fingebat haec Homerus, et humana ad deos transferebat; divina mallem ad nos? . . . Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 26.

[4] *Conf.* 1, 16, 25-26. See *Civ.* 2, 7; 8.

[5] . . . Iovis et Memoriae filias Musas esse confictum est. Vnde ista disciplina sensus intellectusque particeps musicae nomen invenit. . . . *Ord.* 2, 14, 41.

[6] . . . Idemque Iovem se credi volebat; . . . *Haer.* 1.

Quaestionum in Heptateuchum.

Augustine in commenting on the text *Et servierunt Baal et Astartibus* (*Iud.* 2, 13) speaks of the identification of Baal and Astarte with Jupiter and Juno.[8]

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[7] Non enim audiendi sunt errores gentilium superstitionum, qui novem Musas Iovis et Memoriae filias esse finxerunt. Refellit eos Varro, quo nescio utrum apud eos quisquam talium rerum doctior vel curiosior esse possit. Dicit enim civitatem nescio quam, non enim nomen recolo, locasse apud tres artifices terna simulacra Musarum, quod in templo Apollinis donum poneret, ut quisquis artificum pulchriora formasset, ab illo potissimum electa emeret. Itaque contigisse ut opera sua quoque illi artifices aeque pulchra explicarent, et placuisse civitati omnes novem, atque omnes esse emptas, ut in Apollinis templo dedicarentur; quibus postea dicit Hesiodum poetam imposuisse vocabula. Non ergo Iuppiter novem Musas genuit, sed tres fabri ternas creaverunt. Tres autem non propterea illa civitas locaverat, quia in somnis eas viderat, aut tot se cuiusquam illorum oculis demonstraverant; sed quia facile erat animadvertere omnem sonum, quae materies cantilenarum est, triformem esse natura. Aut enim voce editur, sicuti eorum est qui faucibus sine organo canunt; aut flatu, sicut tubarum et tibiarum; aut pulsu, sicut in citharis et tympanis, et quibuslibet aliis quae percutiendo canora sunt. . . . *Doctr. Christ.* 2, 17, 27.

[8] . . . Solet dici Baal nomen esse apud gentes illarum partium Iovis, Astarte autem Iunonis, quod et lingua Punica putatur ostendere. . . . Et quoniam istae linguae non multum inter se differunt, merito creditur hic de filiis Israel hoc dicere Scriptura, quod Baal servierunt et Astartibus, quia Iovi et Iunonibus. . . . *Quaest. Hept.* 7, 16.

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

In commending a person who had returned to the Faith after having practiced astrology, Augustine took occasion to show that this man had been led astray by astrologers, and that he had deceived many by saying blasphemous things, even going so far as to say that God did not do what was just but that Jupiter did. However, the Christians were earnestly exhorted to be kind to the penitent and to encourage him to be firm in his Faith.[9] The casual remarks about pagan divinities which occur in the discourses of Saint Augustine indicate the hold which paganism still had on the people even after they had become Christians. In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 62, he urges the people to ask God for material necessities and not to do as some who in need of sustenance go to Jupiter and Mercury.[10] In commenting on the scriptural text *Sermones iniquorum praevaluerunt super nos* (*Ps.* 64, 4). Augustine alludes to the evil influence of the exponents of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mercury, who had drawn people away from the worship of the true God.[11]

Jupiter is referred to as the name of a star in *Enarratio in Psalmum* 93. That the stars do not resent the vain calumnies of men who call this star the star of Jupiter and that the star of Mercury, is ironically commented upon by Augustine. Regardless of the imaginings of men, they neither move nor swerve from their regular course.[12]

In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 96, in an instruction to the people against the worship of idols, allusion is made to the desire of the Lycaonians to sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas because they thought that Jupiter and Mercury had descended among them. By a detailed explanation Augustine indicates that Paul and Barnabas did not wish to be compared to pagan gods, and also relates the preaching of Saint Paul to the Lycaonians.[13]

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[9] Illa Ecclesiae sitis etiam istum, quem videtis, bibere vult. . . . Seductus enim ab inimico cum esset fidelis, diu mathematicus fuit; seductus seducens, deceptus decipiens, illexit, fefellit, multa mendacia locutus est contra Deum, qui dedit hominibus potestatem faciendi quod bonum est, et non faciendi quod malum est. Iste dicebat quia . . . iustum non faciebat Deus, sed Iovis: et alia multa sacrilega non parva. Quam multis eum putatis Christianis nummos abstulisse? Quam multi ab illo emerunt mendacium, quibus dicebamus: Filii hominum, usquequo graves corde? utquid diligitis vanitatem, et quaeritis mendacium (Ps. IV, 3)? . . . *In Psalm.* 61, 23.

[10] . . . dimittunt Deum, et rogant Mercurium, aut rogant Iovem ut det illis. . . . *In Psalm.* 62, 7.

[11] . . . duxerant nos praedicatores Iovis, et Saturni, et Mercurii. . . . *In Psalm.* 64, 6.

[12] *In Psalm.* 93, 5.

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Saint Augustine attributes the attitude of the Romans in refusing to admit the worship of the God of Israel to the fact that they perceived that, if they admitted the worship of this Deity and worshipped Him in accordance with His commandment that He alone should be worshipped, they must necessarily cease to worship the pagan gods, whose rites for so many centuries were intimately associated with the glory and power of Rome. Herein the Romans were inconsistent, since it was their custom to propitiate and worship deities of nations which they had conquered.[14] Saint Augustine recalls some of the opinions held by pagan writers concerning the God of the Jews. Some, he says, have said that He was Saturn. They, no doubt, were influenced by the assigning of the day of the Sabbath to Saturn. Varro, one of Rome's most learned men, influenced by the worship paid to Jupiter, the king of the gods, in the Capitol at Rome, interpreted the worship of the supreme God by the Jews in the same terms, and said that the God of the Jews was Jupiter. The name given to the object of worship was immaterial to him, if, as he thought, the object of worship was the same. Saint Augustine says that although the pagans may call the God of the Hebrews Saturn or Jupiter, there is no evidence that Saturn ever forbade the worship of a second deity. He did not venture to interdict the worship of Jupiter, who expelled him from his kingdom. Nor did Jupiter, the more powerful deity and conqueror, prohibit the worship of Saturn, but permitted him to continue to be a god.[15] He asks why none of the pagan gods interdicts the worship of any other, in view of the fact that the Romans assign different offices and functions to each god presiding over his own special sphere. He can see some justification for Jupiter's not forbidding the worship of Saturn, since it would not be seemly for him to withhold honor from that supreme mind from which he is supposed to have come forth; and, likewise, Saturn would be expected to favor the mind which has sprung from his mind. Yet, according to Augustine, there are among the pagan gods other instances wherein one might well expect them to interdict the worship of others. But the God of Israel, in prohibiting the worship of those deities which do not prohibit His worship and in foretelling and bringing about the destruction of their images and sacred rites, has shown that the pagan gods are deceitful deities.[16] Augustine asks why the pagans do not believe that the idols are to be destroyed by Jupiter, if they believe that the God of Israel is Jupiter; he adds that He is neither Jupiter nor Saturn, for, if he were, He would not speak so forcibly against the sacred rites of Jupiter and Saturn.[17]

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[13] . . . Mirabilia cum fecissent Lycaoniae, cives eiusdem regionis adduxerunt victimas, et voluerunt illis sacrificare, dicentes Barnabam Iovem, et Paulum Mercurium, illi non sunt delectati. An forte ideo sibi immolari noluerunt, quia daemonibus se comparari exsecrati sunt? . . *In Psalm.* 96, 12. See pages 21, 77 f.

[14] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 12, 18.

The pagans say that, unless the stories about the gods are interpreted by the philosophers, thy are fit only to be laughed at. Thus they say that they honor Jupiter as the spirit which vivifies all things, according to Vergil who said, "All things are full of Jove."[18] Augustine asks how they interpret the term *Aether* as it is used by the same poet in the following verses:

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[15] . . . Varro autem ipsorum, quo doctiorem apud se neminem inveniunt, deum Iudaeorum Iovem putavit nihil interesse censens, quo nomine nuncupetur, dum eadem res intellegatur, credo illius summitate deterritus. Nam quia nihil superius solent colere Romani quam Iovem, quod Capitolium eorum satis aperteque testatur, eumque regem omnium deorum arbitrantur, cum animadverteret Iudaeos summum deum colere, nihil aliud potuit suspicari quam Iovem. Sed sive qui Saturnum sive qui Iovem deum Iudaeorum putant, dicant: quando Saturnus prohibere ausus est coli alterum deum, nec ipsum Iovem, qui eum regno expulisse perhibetur, patrem filius? Qui si tamquam potentior et victor placuit cultoribus suis, Saturnum victum expulsumque non colant. Sed neque istum coli Iovis prohibuit, et quem vincere potuit, deum tamen esse permisit. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 22, 30. See *Civ.* 4, 9.

[16] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 25, 38. See *Epist.* 91, 3-4; *Civ.* 3, 20.

[17] . . . Si Deum Israel Iovem putant, sicut Varro scripsit, interim ut secundum eorum opinionem loquar, cur ergo Iovi non credunt idola esse delenda? . . . cur ei non credunt simulacra evertenda esse et alios deos colendos non esse? si nec Iovis nec Saturnus est quia, si unus eorum esset, contra sacra Iovis et Saturni eorum tanta non diceret. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 27, 42.

> Tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether
> coniugis in gremium laetae descendit,
> (Verg. *Georg.* 2, 325-326).[19]

He says that they think of this Ether, not as a spirit, but as a lofty body in which heaven extends above the air. This leads to the question as to just what the Romans worship in their Capitol, whether it is a spirit or the corporeal heaven itself. Then Augustine questions the meaning attached to the shield of Jupiter which is called the Aegis.[20] He inquires whether there is any connection between the shield and the care of the infant Jupiter by a goat, or whether that too is a fiction of the poets. He asks why the Romans interpret their gods according to ideas gained from philosophers and then worship them in the temples according to the ideas of the poets.[21]

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[18] Istae, inquiunt, fabulae sunt aut interpretandae a sapientibus aut ridendae; nos autem Iovem colimus, de quo ait Maro: "Iovis omnia plena" (Verg. *Ecl.* 3, 60), id est omnia vivificantem spiritum. Merito ergo et Varro Iovem opinatus est coli a Iudaeis, quia dicit per prophetam: "Caelum et terram ego impleo". *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 31. See *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 35. See *Civ.* 4, 9; 7, 9.

[19] See *Civ.* 4, 10, 11.

[20] The popular etymology saw *ἀίξ* in the word and interpreted it as goat, and hence understood this word to mean a shield made of a goat skin. See Boisacq, E., *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 21. Paris, 1923.

[21] . . . Aetherem quippe non spiritum, sed corpus esse dicunt sublime, quo caelum super aerem distenditur. An poetae conceditur nunc secundum Platonicos, ut non corpus, sed spiritus, nunc secundum Stoicos loqui, ut corpus sit deus? Quid ergo in Capitolio colunt? Si spiritum, si denique ipsum caelum corporeum, quid illic facit scutum illud Iovis, quod appellant Aegida? Nempe origo nominis huius ita redditur, quia Iovem a matre occultatum capra nutrivit. An et hoc poetae mentiuntur? Numquid et Capitolia Romanorum opera sunt poetarum? quid sibi autem vult ista non poetica, sed plane mimica varietas, deos secundum philosophos in libris quaerere, secundum poetas in templis adorare?—*Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 31.

Euhemerus [22] is cited as an authority for the opinion that Jupiter, Saturn, Pluto, and Neptune belonged to the number of pagan gods who were once men.[23] Judging from a discussion of Cicero's, he too was firmly convinced that an investigation of Greek writers would show that, in their opinion also, divinities even of the highest order have gone from earth to heaven. In the course of his argument Cicero tells his opponent to ask whose sepulchres are pointed out in Greece, and then, to recall what he heard when he was initiated into the mysteries, in order to realize how commonly it is believed that the gods at one time lived on this earth. In commenting on this passage in the *Tusculans* Augustine says that Cicero was not only very frank in acknowledging that the gods were once men but is very kind in his conjectures that they have been admitted into heaven.[24] When Cicero spoke of Romulus as having received his place among the immortals through the good will of men, he stated publicly that honor was bestowed upon the gods by men. It is consistent to judge from the statements of Cicero, that the ancients did with respect to Jupiter and Saturn as the Romans did with respect to Romulus. Augustine then quotes Vergil to the effect that in more recent times they thought of doing the same in regard to Caesar:[25]

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[22] The Fathers generally accepted the rationalistic interpretation of the gods given by Euhemerus (300 B.C.). For full discussion of Euhemerus and his influence see Christ–Schmid–Stählin, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, II, 1, 231 ff.

[23] Sed numquid etiam ille Euhemerus poeta fuit, qui et ipsum Iovem et Saturnum patrem eius et Plutonem atque Neptunum fratres eius ita planissime homines fuisse prodit, ut eorum cultores gratias magis poetis agere debeant, quia non ad eos dehonestandos, sed potius ad exornandos multa finxerunt? quamvis et ipsum Euhemerum ab Ennio poeta in Latinam linguam esse conversum Cicero commemoret. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 32. See *Civ.* 8, 5, and Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 1, 119.

[24] . . . Numquid et ipse Cicero poeta fuit, qui eum, cum quo in Tusculanis disputat, tamquam secretorum conscium admonet dicens: "si vero scrutari vetera et ex eis quae scriptores Graeciae prodiderunt eruere coner, ipsi illi maiorem gentium di hinc a nobis profecti in caelum repperientur. Quaere, quorum demonstrentur sepulchra in Graecia, reminiscere, quoniam es initiatus, quae tradantur mysteriis, tum denique, quam hoc late pateat, intelleges." (Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 29) Hic certe istorum deos homines fuisse satis confitetur, in caelum autem pervenisse benevole suspicatur. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 32. See *Civ.* 2, 5, also Cic. *De Nat. Deor.* 2, 24.

> Ecce Dionaei processit Caesaris astrum, (Verg. *Ecl.* 9, 47.)

As another indication that the pagan divinities were once men, Saint Augustine mentions the names of the stars. He points out the fact that the stars were in the heavens long before they were given the names that they now bear, and that men imposed upon the stars the names of other men whom they wished to honor after their death; but in reality one is not the star of Jupiter, and another the star of Saturn.[26] Lest some might question the authority of Cicero, the Academic, although he was not expressing his own opinion but was recording a statement contained among the traditions of pagan rites, Augustine cites Varro as an authority who declared that the worship of the gods originated either in their manner of life upon earth or in the nature of their death. Thus, it is evident that he was of the opinion that the gods were once men.[27] Augustine recalls the explanation of the origin of the Egyptian gods, which the Egyptian priest, Leon,[28] gave to

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[25] . . . quamquam et hunc honorem opinionis ab hominibus eis esse delatum, non dubitavit publice dicere, cum de Romulo loqueretur: "qui hanc, inquit, urbem condidit, Romulum ad deos immortales benevolentia famaque sustulimus." (Cic. *Cat.* 3, 1, 1.) Quid igitur mirum est, si hoc fecerunt antiquiores homines de Iove et Saturno et ceteris, quod Romani de Romule, quod denique iam recentioribus temporibus etiam de Caesare facere voluerunt? quibus et Vergilius adulationem carminis addidit dicens: *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 32. See *Civ.* 2, 15; 3, 15. In deorum numerum relatus est non ore modo decernentium sed et persuasione vulgi.—Suet. *Caes.* 88.

[26] . . . vanitas autem poetica stellas eorum non figat, sed fingat in caelo. Neque enim re vera stella illa Iovis est aut illa Saturni; sed post eorum mortem sideribus ab initio mundi conditis haec nomina imposuerunt homines, qui illos mortuos quasi deos haberi voluerunt.—*Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 32.

[27] Sed fuerit et Cicero Academicus incertior quam poetae, qui sepulchra deorum commemorare ausus est litterisque mandare, quamvis hoc non ex opinione propria praesumserit, sed ex ipsorum sacrorum traditione commemoraverit. Numquid et Varro vel tamquam poeta fingit vel tamquam Academicus dubie ponit, quod dicit talium deorum sacra ex cuiusque eorum vita vel morte, qua inter homines vixerunt vel obierunt, esse composita? . . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 33.

[28] Leon (Leon of Pella); see Pauly-Wissowa, XII, 2, 2012-2014, where the present passage is cited.

Alexander of Macedon. Although differing somewhat from the explanation given by the Greeks, it agreed sufficiently to show that the Egyptian deities, too, were originally men.[29]

In the light of all this evidence against the pagan divinities, Saint Augustine states that it matters little whether the Romans assert that their Capitoline Jupiter is not a dead man, but the spirit which vivifies all things. So too, they may interpret the shield of Jupiter as they will.[30] He then passes to a discussion of Jupiter as the world-soul, in which the Neoplatonic views of the ages are reflected. He states that one of the commonly accepted interpretations of Saturn, the father of Jupiter, was that he was *universal Time.* This interpretation was not a very strong proof that Jupiter, who was regarded as the son of Saturn, could be considered an eternal divinity. According to Augustine, the Neoplatonists (*philosophi recentiores Platonici*) were keen enough to see the absurdity of this interpretation; consequently, they de- Χρόνος signifies *fulness of intellect.* They derived Χρόνος from the Greek Κόρος, meaning *fulness,* and νοῦς, the *intellect* or *mind.* the Greek Χρόνος, meaning *fulness,* and νοῦς, the intellect or mind. This etymology agreed with the Latin word, *Saturnus,* if it were interpreted as if it came from *satur* and νοῦς. Augustine thinks it strange that this interpretation, if known by ancient authorities, could have escaped the notice of Cicero and Varro. The Neoplatonists were enabled by this interpretation to look upon Jupiter as the spirit which emanated from that supreme mind, Saturn, and they considered him as the world-soul, which filled all heavenly and earthly bodies.[31] However, in spite of this interpretation which made Saturn the supreme mind, the Romans, who have considered that Jupiter should be pre-eminent in worship and dedicated the Capitol to him, have not been influenced by the opinion of those who would prefer Saturn.[32]

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[29] . . . Numquid et Leon ille sacerdos Aegyptius poeta vel Academicus fuit, qui Macedoni Alexandro diversam quidem a Graecorum opinione istorum deorum originem, verum tamen ita prodit, ut eos homines fuisse declaret?—*Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 33.

[30] Sed quid ad nos? dicant se Iovem non hominem mortuum colere nec homini mortuo Capitolium dedicasse, sed spiritui vivificanti omnia, quo mundus impletur, et scutum eius in honorem nutricis eius factum de pelle caprina interpretentur ut volunt. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 34.

[31] Erubuerunt hinc philosophi eorum recentiores Platonici, qui iam christianis temporibus fuerunt, et Saturnum aliter interpretari conati sunt dicentes appellatum Cronum (χρόνον) velut a satietate intellectus eo, quod Graece satietas coros (κόρος), intellectus autem sive mens nûs (νοῦς) dici-

In Iohannis Evangelium.

The practice of astrology was almost universal in Augustine's time. He states that it was practiced openly in the streets and in the forum. That Jupiter was held in high esteem by the astrologers at this time is not surprising. He is mentioned as one of those whom the astrologers assign as masters of the destinies of men, and to become the slaves of whom men willingly pay out money.[33]

Sermones.

In Sermon 105, in commenting upon the changes which come over earthly kingdoms, Augustine illustrates his point by quoting the familiar lines of the poet Vergil, in which Jupiter promises a kingdom without end to the Romans,—

> His ego nec metas rerum, nec tempora pono:
> Imperium sine fine dedi. (Verg. *Aen.* 1, 278, 279).

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tur. Cui videtur suffragari et Latinum nomen quasi ex prima Latina parte et Graeca posteriore compositum, ut diceretur Saturnus tamquam satur nûs (νοῦς) viderunt, quam esset absurdum, si filius temporis Iuppiter haberetur, quem deum aeternum vel putabant vel putari volebant. At vero secundum istam novellam interpretationem, quam veteres eorum si habuisset, mirum si Ciceronem Varronemque latuisset, Saturni filium Iovem dicunt tamquam ab illa summa mente profluentem spiritum, quam volunt esse velut animam mundi huius omnia caelestia et terrena corpora implentem. Vnde illud Maronis est. . . . "Iovis omnia plena." . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 35.

[32] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 36.

[33] Verumtamen seducti seducunt, et proponunt fallacias hominibus: tendunt ad capiendos homines, et hoc in plateis. Nam qui tendunt ad capiendas feras, vel in silvis atque in solitudine id agunt: quam infeliciter vani sunt homines, quibus capiendis in foro tenditur! Nummos accipiunt, cum se homines hominibus vendunt; dant isti nummos, ut se vanitatibus vendant. Intrant enim ad mathematicum, ut emant sibi dominos, quales mathematico dare placuerit; vel Saturnum, vel Iovem, vel Mercurium, vel si quid aliud sacrilegi nominis. Intravit liber, ut nummis datis servus exiret. Imo vero non intraret, si liber esset: sed intravit quo eum dominus error, et domina cupiditas traxit. Vnde et Veritas dicit: *Omnis qui facit peccatum, servus est peccati* (*Ioan.* VIII, 34).—*In Evang. Ioh.* 8, 11.

But this is not in accord with truth; for, if the things which God has made will pass away, those founded by man will pass more quickly. If Vergil himself were questioned as to the promise made to the Romans, he would admit that in this instance he flattered the Romans, and that he was careful to put the character of falsehood upon Jupiter. Vergil would add that he knew the truth; and upon another occasion, when he was not assuming the rôle of Jupiter, he did not suppress the truth but spoke of the impending ruin of the Roman state. Thus, in adulation of Rome he promised her lasting fame, but in speaking the truth he spoke of her impending destruction.[34] In the same Sermon, Saint Augustine alludes to the futility of offering sacrifice to Jupiter for the preservation of an earthly kingdom. Refuting the complaints made by the pagans that Rome was destroyed and ruined[35] shortly after the prohibition of the worship of her pagan gods, Augustine recalls the consternation among the Romans when they heard of the approach of Rhadagaisus,[36] who sacrificed to Jupiter daily. Those who no longer sacrificed to the pagan gods feared that they would be overcome by those who had not ceased to worship the pagan gods. However, God gave proof that pagan sacrifices were not efficacious even for the preservation of an earthly kingdom, and He enabled the Romans to win a glorious victory over Rhadagaisus and his army.[37]

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[34] . . . Non plane ita respondent veritas. Regnus hoc, quod sine fine dedisti, O qui nihil dedisti, in terra est, an in caelo? Vtique in terra. . . . Forte si vellemus hinc exagitare Vergilium, et insultare, quare hoc dixerit; in parte tolleret nos, et diceret nobis: Et ego scio; sed quid facerem qui Romanis verba vendebam, nisi hac adulatione aliquid promitterem quod falsum erat? Et tamen et in hoc cautus fui, quando dixi, "Imperium sine fine dedi," Iovem ipsorum induxi, qui hoc diceret. Non ex persona mea dixi rem falsam, sed Iovi imposui falsitatis personam: sicut deus falsus erat, ita mendax vates erat. Nam vultis nosse quia ista noveram? Alio loco, quando non Iovem lapidem induxi loquentem, sed ex persona mea locutus sum, dixi:

Non res Romanae perituraque regna. (Verg. *Georg* 2, 498.)

Videte quia dixi peritura regna. Dixi peritura regna, non tacui. Peritura, veritate non tacuit: semper mansura, adulatione promisit.—*Serm.* 105, 7, 10.

[35] By Alaric, 410 A. D.

[36] King of the Goths, who invaded Italy in 406 A. D.

[37] Et illud quod dicunt non est verum, quia continuo diis perditis Roma

In his sermon on the martyr, Bishop Fructuosus, Augustine takes occasion to refer in some detail to the idea that the pagan divinities were once men. When explaining the distinction made by the Christians between the worship of God and the honor given to the memory of the martyrs, he says that we honor the martyrs and in union with them we worship God. It is a matter of regret that the pagans worship dead men, and Augustine urges that the Christians should not be influenced by this custom. He states that those pagan gods, in whose honor temples have been erected, were once men, and many of them were in possession of royal power. Jupiter, Hercules, Neptune, Pluto, Mercury, and Liber are mentioned as representative of the number of pagan divinities that can be thus characterized. The history of nations bears witness to his statement, as well as the fables of the poets. He speaks of this as a fact known to those who have read these things, and he advises those who cannot read to take the word of those who have read. Men who benefited others by temporal favors were looked upon by the recipients of their kindnesses as divinities and came to be worshipped as such.[38] In another passage in this sermon,

capta est, afflicta est. Prorsus non est verum; ante simulacra ipsa eversa sunt; et sic victi sunt Gothi cum Rhadagaiso. Mementote, fratres, mementote: non est longum, pauci anni sunt, recordamini. Eversis in urbe Roma omnibus simulacris, Rhadagaisus rex Gothorum cum ingenti exercitu, multo numerosiore quam Alarici fuit, venit. Paganus homo erat Rhadagaisus: Iovi sacrificabat quotidie. Nuntiabatur ubique quod a sacrificiis non desisteret Rhadagaisus. Tunc omnes isti: Ecce nos non sacrificamus, ille sacrificat, vinci habemus a sacrificante, quibus non licet sacrificare. Deus ostendens quia non in istis sacrificiis est ipsa temporalis salus, ipsa regna terrena, victus est Rhadagaisus, adiuvante Domino, miro modo. . . . *Serm.* 105, 10, 13.

In the *City of God* Augustine vividly relates this same incident. He says that at the same time that Rhadagaisus was approaching Rome, stories were noised abroad at Carthage of the fear and boastings on the part of the Romans, that he who had not ceased to sacrifice to the pagan gods would be victorious. . . . *Civ.* 5, 23.

[38] . . . Neque enim tales esse debemus, quales Paganos dolemus. Et quidem illi mortuos homines colunt. Illi quippe omnes, quorum nomina auditis, quibus templa constructa sunt, homines fuerunt; et in rebus humanis habuerunt plerique eorum et pene omnes regiam potestatem. Auditis Iovem, auditis Herculem, auditis Neptunum, auditis Plutonem, Mercurium, Liberum et caeteros: Homines fuerunt. Non ista solum in

to show that sacrifice is to be offered to God and not to men, Augustine refers to the instructions given to the people of Lycaonia when they wished to offer sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas because they thought that Barnabas was Jupiter and that Paul was Mercury.[39]

Saint Augustine again mentions the identification of Jupiter as the world-soul in Sermon 241, entitled *De Resurrectione Corporum, contra Gentiles,* when he is refuting Porphyry's doctrine that the soul, in order to be happy, must escape all connection with every kind of body. In the course of his sermon, he refers to the Neoplatonic view of the world—that is, the world comprised of heaven, earth, the seas, and the elements—as a great animated being ruled by a universal soul, which is called Jupiter or Hecate. The Neoplatonists say that this world is eternal. Augustine argues that if the world is eternal, and if that world is an animated being, that universal soul will always remain in the world. This opinion does not harmonize with their idea that every kind of body must be escaped. Resuming his main theme on the resurrection, he states that souls will always be happy with their incorruptible bodies. He emphasizes the fact that those who say that every kind of body must be escaped destroy the world. He disposes of the Neoplatonic argument that the soul should flee the body, by

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fabulis poetarum, sed etiam in historia gentium declarantur . . . tamquam diis templa aedificarentur, tamquam diis supplicaretur, tamquam diis arae construerentur, tamquam diis sacerdotes ordinarentur, tamquam diis victimae immolarentur.—*Serm.* 273, 3, 3.

It is clear from the *City of God* also, that Saint Augustine was inclined to favor the rationalistic opinion that the gods were once men and that sacred rites and solemnities were instituted to each of them according to his particular standing in life. Gradually, the attractions of these rites and solemnities permeated the souls of men. Later the poets made these practices attractive by means of fanciful verses. Seduced by evil spirits, men accepted these tales. The story, as told by Varro, of Saturn being conquered by his son Jupiter would be far more probable if told of a youth who, afraid of an impious father, or impious himself, dethroned his father. According to Augustine, the wisest of men become perplexed when they try to honor these vain fables by natural interpretation, and the vanity of it all is a source of grief.—*Civ.* 7, 18.

[39] *Serm.* 273, 8, 8. See pages 12, 77 f.

stating that then, in strict logic, the Neoplatonists should demand that their world-soul, Jupiter, should flee heaven and earth.[40]

Epistulae.

That there was an active interest in the worship of pagan divinities in the late fourth century is especially evidenced by the letter of the pagan Maximus (390) to Saint Augustine. At the beginning of his letter he remarks that according to Grecian mythology Mount Olympus is the home of the gods, but he says the market place of Madaura is filled with beneficent divinities, evidently with the approval of the citizens. He asserts that only the unwise would deny the existence of one Supreme God, but he states that he and his co-religionists worship the powers of this Deity under many names. He endeavors to prove that by worshipping the separate parts of this Divine Being, they are really worshipping Him in Whom all these parts are one.[41] Maximus chides Augustine because honor is paid to the memory of the martyrs by the Christians, and declares that it is intolerable to find Mygdon[42]

[40] . . . Sed nolo hinc diutius disputare, libros vestros lego: mundum istum animal dicitis, id est, caelum, terram, maria, omnia quae sunt ingentia corpora, immensa usquequaque elementa; totum hoc, universumque corpus, quod ex his elementis omnibus constat, dicitis esse animal magnum, id est, habere animam suam, sed sensus corporis non habere; quia extrinsecus nihil est quod sentiri possit; habere tamen intellectum, haerere Deo: et ipsam animam mundi vocari Iovem, vel vocari Hecatem, id est, quasi animam universalem mundum regentem, et unum quoddam animal facientem. . . . Tu qui dicis, Corpus est omne fugiendum, occide mundum. Tu dicis ut fugiam de carne mea: fugiat Iuppiter tuus de caelo et terra. . . . *Serm.* 241, 7, 7.

[41] . . . Olympum montem deorum esse habitaculum, sub incerta fide Graecia fabulatur. At vero nostrae urbis forum salutarium numinum frequentia possessum nos cernimus et probamus. Equidem unum esse Deum summum, sine initio, sine prole naturae, ceu patrem magnum atque magnificum, quis tam demens, tam mente captus neget esse certissimum? Huius nos virtutes per mundanum opus diffusas, multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam nomen eius cuncti proprium videlicet ignoramus. Nam deus omnibus religionibus commune nomen est. Ita fit ut dum eius quasi quaedam membra a carptim, variis supplicationibus prosequimur, totum colere profecto videamur.—*Epist.* 16, 1. In these statements Maximus reflects the Neoplatonic philosophy of his time.

[42] See *Acta Sanctorum*, Julii II, 6, for account of the martyrdom of the protomartyr of Africa, Saint Namphanio, and his companions, Mygdon, Sanae, and Lucitas.

honored above Jupiter, the hurler of the thunderbolt,[43] or Sanae above Juno, or Namphanio above all the immortals. Maximus further complains that the temples are forsaken by those who now visit the tombs of the Christian martyrs and are fulfilling, as it were, the prediction of Lucan that Rome shall swear by the shades in the temples of the gods: [44]

> Inque deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras. (Lucan *Phars.* 7, 459.)

He even compares the present situation to that of Actium, when Egyptian monsters raised their weapons against the gods of the Romans. Then he asks Augustine to explain clearly who the God of the Christians is, Whom he thinks the Christians claim to see present in secret places. He says that the pagans worship their gods in open places, and propitiate them by acceptable sacrifices.[45] He admits that he, personally, is influenced by the Vergilian maxim, and is drawn to that which pleases him most.[46]

> Trahit sua quemque voluptas. (Verg. *Ecl.* 2, 65.)

Saint Augustine's reply to this letter shows that he was not convinced that Maximus was in earnest in his inquiries. Referring to the allusion to Mount Olympus, he asks Maximus if he wished him to recall that Jupiter pitched his camp there when he was at war with his father, a point which he says is learned from history, history which the friends of Maximus would call sacred. With reference to the blasphemous statement that the pagan gods are parts of the one great God, Augustine admonishes Maximus to refrain carefully from such impious jestings. He adds that he might go into the refutation of this more fully but restrains himself lest Maximus should think that he was acting more as a rhetorician than as a defender of the truth.[47] The pleasantries, as they appear to Augustine, which Maximus has offered about the names of Carthaginian martyrs who, he says, are being worshipped above the gods, are too trifling to deserve his attention. He tells him that if he is inclined to ridicule, he will find plenty of material in the sacred rites of Rome, if he recalls the numerous deified abstracts and lesser divinities in whose honor temples have been erected. If he is acquainted with these practices of the Romans it is surprising that he can despise Punic names, such as Mygdon, mentioned above. Augustine thinks that Maximus is not particularly devoted to the pagan rites, since he so easily accedes to that which pleases most. Then Augustine adds that perhaps Maximus will be pleased with the lines from Vergil which describe Saturn as fleeing from the weapons of Jupiter:

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[43] For an interesting allusion to the golden thunderbolts of the statues of Jupiter found in the late fourth century in the Alps by Theodosius, see *Civ.* 5, 26.

[44] Sed impatientem me esse tanti erroris, dissimulare non possum. Quis enim ferat Iovi fulmina vibranti praeferri Mygdonem; . . . Horum busta, si memoratu dignum est, relictis templis, neglectis maiorum suorum manibus, stulti frequentant, ita ut praesagium vatis illius indigne ferentis emineat; . . . *Epist.* 16, 2.

[45] . . . Sed mihi hac tempestate propemodum videtur bellum Actiacum rursus exortum, quo Aegyptia monstra in Romanorum deos audeant tela vibrare, minime duratura. . . .

Sed illud quaeso, vir sapientissime, uti remoto facundiae robore atque exploso, qua cunctis clarus es, omissis etiam quibus pugnare solebas Chrysippeis argumentis, postposite paululum dialectica, quae nervorum suorum luctamine nihil certi cuiquam relinquere nititur, ipsa re approbes, quis sit iste Deum quem vobis, Christiani, quasi proprium vindicatis, et in locis abditis praesentem vos videre componitis. Nos etenim deos nostros luce palam ante oculos atque aures omnium mortalium piis precibus adoramus, et per suaves hostias propitios nobis efficimus, et a cunctis haec cerni et probari contendimus.—*Epist.* 16, 2-3.

[46] *Epist.* 16, 4.

> Primus ab aethereo venit Saturnus Olympo
> arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis. (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 319, 320.)

which Augustine interprets as a proof that Vergil intended to give the impression that Jupiter, Saturn, and other pagan divinities which Maximus worships were men.[48]

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[47] . . . Primo enim Olympi montis et fori vestri comparatio facta est: quae nescio quo pertinuerit, nisi ut me commonefaceret in illo monte Iovem castra posuisse, cum adversus patrem bella gereret, ut ea docet historia, quam vestri etiam sacram vocant; . . . Sed illud plane quo tales deos quaedam Dei unius magni membra esse dixisti, admoneo, quia dignaris, ut ab huiusmodi sacrilegis facetiis te magnopere abstineas. Siquidem illum Deum dicis unum, de quo, ut dictum est a veteribus, docti indoctique consentiunt, huiusne tu membra dicis esse, quorum immanitatem, vel, si hoc mavis, potentiam, mortui hominis imago compescit? Plura hinc possem dicere; vides enim pro tua prudentia, quam locus late iste pateat reprehensioni. Sed me ipse cohibeo, ne a te rhetorice potius quam veridice agere existimer.—*Epist.* 17, 1.

Saint Augustine did not take Maximus seriously. In his reply he tells him that he has given the impression that he himself thinks lightly of the gods; so too, Augustine has jested about them. To prevent any profane jestings on the part of Maximus in regard to the memory paid to the martyrs, Augustine states that no deceased person or anything made or fashioned by God is worshipped by the Christians as a divine power. He says that he will discuss these matters more fully when he is assured that Maximus is in earnest.[49]

In writing to Nectarius (408), Augustine says that there can be no doubt that the imitation of such deities as are extolled in pagan literature makes men unfit to be members of society. He comments on the fact that the Romans often held up citizens, such as Cato, as more worthy of imitation by the youth of Rome than the example given by the gods. He says that the youth in Terence was led to imitate the conduct of Jupiter, since Jupiter, and not Cato, was worshipped in a temple. Augustine states that some do not approve of his bringing in arguments against the wanton practices and superstitions of men based on the comedies, but he argues that these comedies would not be so well received if their themes were not approved by men, and these same men do not increase in virtue by imitation of the conduct of gods invented by men.[50] Against the argument that what was said of the gods long ago is not to be literally understood and interpreted at the present time, Augustine remarks that within a few days he has heard of such wholesome interpretations being read to the people assembled in the temples. He is of the opinion that people are not so blind that they cannot perceive things so plain and tangible. In a rhetorical passage he adds that every effort has been expended by artisans, artists, and actors to represent the questionable conduct of Jupiter. Augustine laments the fact that the worshippers of Jupiter have not been able in his own Capitol to read a decree from him prohibiting such conduct. If, since no such decree is available, the people continue to enjoy these indecorous and shameful rites, and if, in order to provide sacrifices for the pagan gods, the poor must be inconvenienced by lessening their flocks, and, in order to provide actors, the wealthy must squander their estates, Augustine questions the flourishing condition of the communities in which these things are done.[51]

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[48] *Epist.* 17, 3.

[49] Cum igitur haec nos et alia, quae nunc praetermittenda existimo, per epistulam tuam feceris recordari, quid nos non derideamus deos vestros, quos abs te ipso subtiliter derideri nemo non intelligit, qui et ingenium tuum novit, et legit litteras tuas? Itaque si aliquid inter nos his de rebus vis agamus, quod aetati tuae prudentiaeque congruit, quod denique de nostro proposito iure a carissimis nostris flagitari potest, quaere aliquid nostra discussione dignum; et ea pro vestris numinibus cura dicere, in quibus non te causae praevaricatorem putemus, quo nos magis commoneas quae contra illos dici possunt, quam pro eis aliquid dicas. Ad summam tamen, ne te hoc lateat, et in sacrilega convicia imprudentem trahat, scias a Christianis Catholicis, quorum in vestro oppido etiam ecclesia constituta est, nullum coli mortuorum, nihil denique ut numen adorari, quod sit factum et conditum a Deo, sed unum ipsum Deum qui fecit et condidit omnia. Disserentur ista latius ipso vero et uno Deo adiuvante, cum te graviter agere velle cognovero.—*Epist.* 17, 5.

[50] *Epist.* 91, 3, 4.

The perversity of Jupiter is again referred to by Augustine in his letter to Marcellinus (412). He states that the attempt to place Apollonius, Apuleius, and others skilled in magical arts on a higher plane than Christ is ridiculous. However, it would be more reprehensible, if they compared Him to their pagan gods, since Apollonius is a worthier character than Jupiter, the perpetrator of gross acts of immorality. But they say that those stories about the gods are fables. If so, it is strange that they continue to praise the Republic in which occurred spectacles of such a character that the gods would be expected to prohibit them and even to punish worshippers for participation therein. They say that those are not the gods who are worshipped according to the invention of a lie. Augustine asks what these gods are who are propitiated in such a manner. He adds that, because Christianity has exposed these malignant adversaries and has warned against them, it is called an enemy of the state.[52]

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[51] At enim illa omnia quae antiquitus de vita deorum moribusque conscripta sunt, longe aliter sunt intelligenda atque interpretanda sapientibus. Ita vero in templis populis congregatis recitari huiuscemodi salubres interpretationes heri et nudiustertius audivimus. Quaeso te, siccine caecum est humanum genus adversus veritatem, ut tam aperta et manifesta non sentiat? Tot locis pingitur, funditur, tunditur, sculpitur, scribitur, legitur, agitur, cantatur, saltatur Jupiter, adulteria tanta committens; quantum erat ut in suo saltem Capitolio ista prohibens legeretur? Haec mala dedecoris impietatisque plenissima, si nemine prohibente in populis ferveant, adorentur in templis, rideantur in theatris, cum his victimas immolant vastetur pecus etiam pauperum, cum haec histriones agunt et saltant effundantur patrimonia divitum, civitates florere dicuntur? . . . *Epist.* 91, 5.

CONCLUSION (Jupiter)

This survey of the references to Jupiter found in the works of Saint Augustine exclusive of the *City of God* shows that he had a comprehensive knowledge of the opinions and interpretations of this pagan divinity held by the ancients and the people of his own time—a knowledge acquired by personal observation and by an extensive study of literary sources. Among the writers cited as authorities for his statements concerning Jupiter and other pagan divinities are Euhemerus, Leon, Varro, Terence, Cicero, Vergil and Lucan. In his discussions of the reasons for worshipping the true God, he recalls some of the opinions of God which the pagans held and shows how they were influenced in their ideas by the worship given to Jupiter in the Capitol at Rome. Among the outstanding interpretations of Jupiter given by Augustine are: He was thought of as the spirit which vivifies all things, as the corporeal heaven; he was even looked upon as once a man; and he was considered by the Neoplatonists as the world-soul. That no one divinity stood out above the others in absolute exclusiveness of worship is considered by Augustine as indicative of a lack of power and stability.

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[52] Quis autem vel risu dignum non putet, quod Apollonium et Apuleium, caeterosque magicarum artium peritissimos conferre Christo, vel etiam praeferre conantur? Quamquam tolerabilius ferendum sit, quando istos ei potius comparant quam deos suos: multa enim melior, quod fatendum est, Apollonius fuit, quam tot stuprorum auctor et perpetrator, quem Iovem nominant. Ista, inquiunt, fabulosa sunt. . . . Sed non ipsi, inquiunt, sunt, qui talium fabularum mendacio celebrantur. Qui ergo sunt isti, qui talium turpitudinum celebratione placantur? Horum daemonum perversitatem atque fallaciam, per quos et magicae artes humanas mentes decipiunt, quia prodidit christiana doctrina, quia mundo universo patefecit, quia angelos sanctos ab eorum malignitate distinxit, quia cavendos potius, et quemadmodum caverentur admonuit, reipublicae dicitur inimica! quasi non si omnino per istos esset temporalis obtinenda felicitas, quaelibet potius fuerat infelicitas eligenda. . . . *Epist.* 138, 4, 18.

He shows that success even in temporal affairs is in no way dependent upon pagan sacrifice to Jupiter, as evidenced by the defeat of Rhadagaisus. Augustine emphasizes the evil effects of pagan literature and art which depict the immoral conduct of Jupiter. That such influence was not a matter of the past but a current issue is clearly pointed out in his letter (408) to Nectarius in which he speaks of the fables of Jupiter having been read in his temple recently. To Augustine's knowledge, Jupiter had never prohibited the portrayal of his unbecoming conduct. In the almost universally practiced astrology of the age Jupiter naturally occupied a place of the highest importance. This accounts for the frequent admonition on the part of Augustine to the Christians to avoid coming under the influence of Jupiter and other pagan divinities whom the astrologers were wont to declare the masters of man's destiny. That sacrifices were offered to Jupiter and other pagan divinities at this time is evident from Augustine's letter to Nectarius and from the letter of Maximus of Madaura to Augustine. The casual allusions to Jupiter, frequently in connection with the other stock pagan divinities, would seem to indicate that the persons whom he addressed or came in contact with through his correspondence and various associations were fairly familiar with the references which he made to such divinities. He employs his knowledge of the pagan religion current in his own time and that of ancient days to combat the attacks of contemporary pagans against Christianity, to clear up difficulties which existed in the minds of those not conversant with Christianity, and to warn those who had only recently given up pagan practices and who were inclined to lapse into their old ways.

3. Mars.

Allusions to Mars occur in the *Confessions, Contra Faustum, Contra Cresconium, De Doctrina Christiana, Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum, De Vtilitate Ieiunii, Sermones and Epistulae.* Saint Augustine was concerned with Mars chiefly as he knew of his worship in the late fourth century and early fifth, especially through the new life given to his worship through his connection with astrology. The number of incidental references to Mars as contained in the *Enarrationes in Psalmos* indicates that the theme was familiar to his hearers.

Confessions.

In the fourth book of the *Confessions* Augustine contrasts the peace which comes from sorrow for sin and a correct understanding of man's attitude toward the goodness of God, with the advice given by the astrologers when they attribute the wrongdoing of man to Mars, Venus or Saturn, in order that man may be without blame, and, as it were, place the cause of sin in the Creator of the stars.[53]

Contra Faustum.

In addition to giving the names of pagan divinities to the stars, Augustine states that the months were likewise named after them. To honor Romulus, whom the pagans believed to be the son of Mars, the first month of the old Roman year was called March, and the month was dedicated to Mars.[54]

Contra Cresconium.

In *Contra Cresconium* an incidental reference is made to the Areopagus whose name reëchoed that of Mars, who the pagans said was the god of war.[55]

De Doctrina Christiana.

For an allusion to a festival of Mars, see page 116 f. in the treatment of Festivals. (*Doctr. Christ.* 4, 24, 53)

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

Of the stars highly favored by the astrologers Mars [56] ranks as one of the most important. Commenting upon the Scriptural text:

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[53] . . . Quam totam illi salubritatem interficere conantur, cum dicunt: De caelo tibi est inevitabilis causa peccandi; et, Venus hoc fecit, aut Saturnus, aut Mars. Scilicet, ut homo sine culpa sit, caro et sanguis et superba putredo; culpandus sit autem caeli ac siderum creator et ordinator. . . . *Conf.* 4, 3, 4.

[54] . . . Sed et mensibus imposuerunt nomina deorum suorum. Propter honorem quippe Romuli, quia eum Martis filium crediderunt, primum mensem Marti dicantes, Martium vocaverunt. . . . *C. Faust.* 18, 5.

[55] . . . nec ipsius loci nomine exterritus, quod ex Marte inditum resonat, quem deum dicunt esse bellorum. . . . *C. Cresc.* 1, 12, 15. See *Civ.* 7, 14. Here Augustine states that Mars was made the god of war because the ancients did not see any way to refer him to parts of the world.

[56] For Mars as the name of a star, see *Civ.* 7, 15.

Ne declines cor meum in verba maligna ad excusandas excusationes in peccatis, cum hominibus operantibus iniquitatem, Augustine points out the injustice of man's attributing his wrongdoing to the stars as if they were responsible. He says that man excuses himself by saying that he is under the influence of Mars, the homicide. Whether he does wrong or lives well, Mars is the one who guides his actions. Augustine states that the people who excuse themselves thus are advised by those men who in this world are considered great, learned, and favored because of their computation of the stars.[57] He repeats the same idea in the following passage:

> Et ista, fratres mei, defensio qualium est? Non solum indoctorum, sed etiam doctorum. Sedent, et computant sidera; intervalla, cursus, volubilitates, status, motus intendunt, describunt, coniciunt. Docti, magni videntur. Totum hoc doctum et magnum, defensio peccati est . . . eris homicida, quia sic habes Martem. Mars ergo homicida, non tu; . . . Vide ne pro Marte . . . tu damneris. . . .[58]

He again mentions the astrologer as one who would permit man to justify his wrongdoing by saying that his own will was not to be blamed but that Mars was the one responsible, as is seen from the following citation from *Enarratio in Psalmum* 61, 23:

> Iste (mathematicus) dicebat quia . . . homicidium non faciebat voluntas propria, sed Mars. . . .

Again, in *Enarratio in Psalmum* 128, the stars are spoken of as controlling man's destiny; in particular, Mars, Saturn, and Venus.[59] Augustine describes the man who is truly penitent as one who does not say that fate is responsible for his wrong acts, that Mars made him a robber, that Saturn caused him to be avaricious, or that Venus made him sin; he admits his own guilt and asks for mercy.[60]

In his discourse on verse 6 of Psalm 145: *Beatus cuius Deus Jacob adiutor est eius, spes illius in Dominum Deum ipsius,* Saint

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[57] *In Psalm.* 31, *Enarratio* II, 16. For citation of passage see page 72.

[58] *In Psalm.* 140, 9.

[59] . . . Ego nihil mali feci, inquit; quia Saturnus fecit, quia Mars fecit, quia Venus fecit. . . . *In Psalm.* 128, 9.

[60] *In Psalm.* 40, 6.

Augustine uses the words of Saint Paul to enable his audience to understand who is meant by the Lord his God. He quotes as follows: *Etsi sunt qui dicuntur dii, sive in caelo, sive in terra; quemadmodum sunt dii multi, et domini multi; nobis tamen unus Deus, Pater ex quo omnia, et unus Dominus Jesus Christus, per quem omnia* (I Cor. VIII, 5, 6). He exhorts his people to let the Lord their God be their hope, and encourages them to put their hope in Him. Referring to those who worship Saturn, Mars, Mercury, and Neptune, he says each one who worships these pagan divinities places his hope in these as his lord and god. Then Augustine explains to the Christians, in so far as he can, the greatness of their God, Who made the world and all that are therein, and again exhorts them to put their hope in Him, in order that they may be happy.[61]

In his *Enarratio in Psalmum* 93, entitled *Psalmus ipsi David, quarta sabbatorum,* Saint Augustine comments on the fact that the Christians are using the same terminology as the pagans, in naming the days of the week. They call the third week-day Mars' day and the fourth week-day Mercury's day. Saint Augustine urges the Christians to discontinue this practice, since it is not universal.[62]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Mars is mentioned as one of the divinities whose worship might have been interdicted by another divinity, if the gods had any power over such matters.[63]

De Vtilitate Ieiunii.

Evidently to incite the Christians to greater efforts in practices of virtue, Saint Augustine holds up the example of the unity and harmony which the pagans show in worshipping such a variety of pagan divinities and divinities who are at variance among themselves. He says that he will mention only a few instances. Hercules and Juno were unfriendly toward each other, but they were worshipped equally. Enmity existed between Mars and Vulcan, but Vulcan at no time ventured to prohibit the worship of Mars. Worshippers go from the temple of Mars to the temple of Vulcan, not at all fearful of the anger of Vulcan, for they know that a stone is inanimate. In spite of all this, the pagans have a certain unity in their worship. Here Saint Augustine makes a remark to the effect that he hopes the pagans will not be offended at what he has said. He thinks that they should rather be offended at their own literature.[64]

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[61] . . . Ergo sit ipse spes tua, Dominus Deus tuus; in illo sit spes tua. In domino deo suo est spes etiam illius qui colit Saturnum; in domino deo ipsius est spes, qui colit Martem, qui colit Neptunum, qui colit Mercurium. . . . *In Psalm.* 145, 12.

[62] *In Psalm.* 93, 3. For citation of this passage see page 77.

[63] . . . saltem Vulcanus prohiberet coli Martem uxoris adulterum. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 25, 38.

Sermones.

An incidental allusion is made to Mars in Augustine's discussion of the tutelary Genius of Carthage.[65]

Epistulae.

Saint Augustine's reply to the letter of Maximus contains a most interesting reference to the two statues of Mars in the market place of Madaura. He describes one as armed, and the other as unarmed. Standing guard, as it were, is a third statue of a man with three outstretched fingers, whose office, as interpreted by Saint Augustine, is that of a protector against the evil which the demonship of these statues of Mars might inflict.[66]

[64] Ecce illi multos deos falsos non divisi colunt: . . . Aliud addo: non solum multos deos falsos Pagani colunt, sed plerosque sibi contrarios et inimicos. Verbi gratia, commemoremus aliqua ipsorum, si cuncta non possumus: . . . Vulcanus et Mars inimici sunt, et iustam causam habet Vulcanus: sed da iudicem qui audiat. Odit enim miser uxoris adulterium; nec tamen audet cultores suos a Martis templo prohibere. Simul adorant illum et illum. Si imitantur deos, litigant et ipsi. Eunt de templo Martis ad templum Vulcani: magna indignitas! nec tamen timent ne sibi irascatur maritus, quod ad eum venitur de templo Martis adulteri. Habent cor, sciunt lapidem sentire non posse. Ecce colentes multos, falsos, diversos, adversos, tenent tamen in eis colendis qualemcumque unitatem: ecce dicunt contra te testimonium et ipsi Pagani, a quibus tui ieiunia separasti. . . . Nec mihi Pagani succenseant, quod haec dixi de diis eorum. Quare enim irascantur verbis meis, et non potius litteris suis? . . . *Vtil. Ieiun.* 7, 9.

[65] Non est, inquit, deus; quia genium est Carthaginis. Quasi si Mars aut Mercurius esset, deus esset. . . . *Serm.* 62, 6, 10.

[66] . . . et in isto foro recordarer esse in duobus simulacris unum Martem

CONCLUSION (Mars)

That the worship of Mars was active at the time of Saint Augustine is evident from the mention of the statues of Mars in the market-place of Madaura, the honor paid to Mars in his temples, the allusion to his festival, the frequent reference to his evil influence in astrological practices. Again and again Augustine warns the Christians not to consult astrologers nor to refer the responsibility for their wrongdoing to Mars. Augustine points out the fact that the pagan divinities were powerless to prohibit the worship of one another even on very valid grounds, as Vulcan might well have prohibited the worship of Mars. The casual mention of the worship of pagan divinities seems to show that it was still an everyday occurrence and called for no further comment on the part of Augustine.

4. Pallor and Febris.

Allusions to Pallor and Febris are found in *Contra Faustum, Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum,* and *Epistulae.*

Contra Faustum.

That the Romans dedicated images to Pallor and Febris, physical evils, is mentioned by Augustine in *Contra Faustum.*[67]

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

In commenting upon the scriptural text, *Vocavit famem super terram* (*Ps.* 104, 16), Augustine makes allusion to the fact that

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nudum, alterum armatum, quorum daemonium infestissimum civibus, porrectis tribus digitis contra collocata statua humana comprimeret. . . . *Epist.* 17, 1.

Usener agrees that Augustine was quite right in his interpretation of the significance of the "porrecti tres digiti," as a symbolism to ward off evil. For a full discussion of this passage and the symbolism of the "porrecti tres digiti," see Usener, *Kleine Schriften,* III, 26-28.

See Ovid, *Fast.* 5, 433 for a similar allusion to gestures of the fingers as a protection against evil.

[67] . . . Nam et corporalium vitiorum simulacra Romani consecraverunt, sicut Palloris et Febris. . . . *C. Faust.* 20, 9.

the ancient Romans elevated certain evils to deities; for example, they made the goddess Febris and the god Pallor.[68]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Augustine makes a passing reference to the temples of Pallor and Febris erected by the Romans, when he raises the question as to whether the Romans think that evil deities ought to be worshipped. He says that they hold this, since they have erected temples to Pallor and Febris, and since they advise that the good deities be summoned to their aid and the evil deities propitiated.[69]

Epistulae.

Pallor and Febris are mentioned as among the ancient Roman divinities which Augustine reminds Maximus to recall before he censures Punic names.[70]

5. Romulus-Quirinus.

There are allusions to Romulus in *Contra Cresconium*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, *Sermones*, and *Epistulae*. It should be noted that Augustine does not mention Quirinus in the works included in this study. In the *City of God* (2, 15) he states that Romulus, after he was given a place among the gods, was given a new name, Quirinus. Furthermore, he was honored with a Flamen Quirinalis.

Contra Cresconium.

Saint Augustine in his *Contra Cresconium*, in refuting the Donatist Cresconius, refers to the insinuation made by Cresconius that baptism was similar to the receiving of the guilty into the asylum of Romulus, because those received into the Church by baptism are freed from their sins. Augustine then explains that they come into the Church or, as he says, the city of God, with a true heart; concerning which city the Creator has said, *non potest civitas abscondi super montem constituta* (*Matth.* V, 14). And this city was not founded by him who in pride slew his brother, but by Him who by His death redeemed His brethren with humility.[71]

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[68] . . . *Vocavit famem*, id est angelum propositum famis, et eius rei nomine cuius est praepositus, appellatum? Ex qua opinione Romani veteres quosdam deos tales consecrarunt, sicut deam Febrem deumque Pallorem. . . . *In Psalm.* 104, 11.

[69] . . . Num quid Romani etiam malos deos colendos non putant, qui Pallori et Febri fana fecerunt? qui et agathus (ἀγαθοὺς) demonas invitandos, et cacus (κακοὺς) demonas placandos monent. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 18, 26. See *Civ.* 3, 25, for another allusion to a temple of Febris.

[70] . . . habes . . . deum Pallorem, deam Febrem. . . . *Epist.* 17, 2.

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 44, Augustine, discoursing on *Delectaverunt te filiae regum* (*Ps.* XLIV, 9), wishes his hearers to remember that the "kings' daughters" symbolized the cities built by kings, that have received the faith. They have sought to honor God and not their founders. Then Augustine states that no temple of Romulus at Rome is held in such honor as the church in honor of Saint Peter. But Peter is not honored except in Christ Who died for men. The Christians are followers of Christ, not of Peter as their God.[72]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Saint Augustine speaks of the Romans taking over the worship of the gods of the nations which they had conquered. That the Romans can say that these pagan divinities found much to admire in the life and piety of the Roman divinities cannot be asserted, if they remember the foundation of Rome by Romulus and Remus and their asylum for criminals and the murder of Remus by Romulus. The principles which afforded men guilty of crime a refuge with impunity were not such as would encourage virtue and justice. The slaying of Remus was indicative of ambition and injustice on the part of Romulus. Augustine questions whether deities would

[71] . . . quomodo eum mundari negas, nisi quia omnino quae sit mundatio spiritualis ignoras? Non igitur, sicut conviciaris, *tamquam in asylum Romuli vestros nocentes recipimus*, quos civitas Dei recipiendo efficit innocentes, cum ad eamdem veraci corde transierint, de qua eius conditor dicit, *Non potest civitas abscondi super montem constituta* (*Matth.* V, 14). Non enim eam condidit, qui fratrem superbe occidit iratus, sed qui fratres humiliter redemit occisus. . . . *C. Cresc.* 2, 13, 16.

[72] . . . *Filiae regum delectaverunt te in honore tuo:* quia non quaesierunt honorem patrum suorum, sed quaesierunt honorem tuum. Ostendatur mihi Romae in honore tanto templum Romuli, in quanto ibi ostendo memoriam Petri. In Petro quis honoratur, nisi ille defunctus pro nobis? Sumus enim Christiani, non Petriani. . . . Ecce Roma, ecce Carthago, ecce aliae et aliae civitates filiae regum sunt; et delectaverunt regem suum in honore ipsius; et ex omnibus fit una quaedam regina. . . . *In Psalm.* 44, 23.

take delight in a situation such as was found at Rome in the ancient days. Then he points out the inability of the gods to help either those with whom they had been or those who conquered them; they can neither give or remove supreme power in government.[73]

Augustine cites Cicero as an authority for the statement that Romulus was given a place among the gods by the good-will of the Romans.[74]

Sermones.

In refuting the complaints of the pagans to the effect that Rome fell during Christian times, Augustine has occasion to speak of Romulus as the founder of Rome.[75] In emphasizing the passing away of earthly kingdoms, in Sermon 105, Augustine mentions the lasting duration promised to the Roman state by Vergil, with Jupiter as speaker. However, those who have made such promises were prompted to lie by adulation and were not guided by truth. This kingdom was assuredly an earthly one.[76] Then, com-

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[73] Neque enim possunt dicere pietatem ac mores suos a diis gentium quas vicerunt, dilectos et electos. Numquam hoc dicent, si primordia sua recolant, facinorosorum asylum et Romuli fratricidium. Neque enim, quando asylum constituerunt Remus et Romulus, ut quisquis cuiuslibet sceleris reus eo confugisset inultum haberet commissum, praecepta paenitentiae dederunt ad salvandas animas miserorum ac non potius collectam timentium manum contra suas civitates, quarum leges timebant, mercede impunitatis armarunt, aut quando Romulus fratrem, qui nihil in eum mali perpetrarat, occidit, iustitiam vindicandi, ac non principatum dominandi cogitavit. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 12, 19.

[74] . . . (Cicero) non dubitavit publice dicere, cum de Romulo loqueretur: qui hanc urbem, inquit, condidit, Romulum ad deos immortales benevolentia famaque sustulimus. (Cic. *Cat.* 3, 1, 1.) . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 32. See *Civ.* 22, 6.

[75] . . . Conditori eius facimus iniuriam, quia dicimus, Roma ruit, quam condidit Romulus? . . . *Serm.* 81, 9.

[76] . . . Habent mutationes terrena regna: veniet ille de quo dictum est, *Et regni eius non erit finis* (*Luc.* 1, 33).

Qui hoc terrenis regnis promiserunt, non veritate ducti sunt, sed adulatione mentiti sunt. . . . Regnum hoc, quod sine fine dedisti, o qui nihil dedisti, in terra est, an in caelo? Vtique in terra. Et si esset in caelo, *Caelum et terra transient* (*Luc.* XXI, 33). Transient quae fecit ipse Deus; quanto citius quod condidit Romulus? Forte si vellemus hinc exagitare menting on the words, *Caelum et terra transient* (*Luc.* XXI, 33), Augustine states that since those things which God has made will pass away, that which Romulus founded will pass much more quickly. Further, he states that, if Vergil, who promised a kingdom without end to the Romans, were questioned, he would admit that he flattered them.

Epistulae.

In a letter to Marcellinus (412), Augustine points out the inconsistency of persons who do not object to discourses of Cicero, for example, on virtues and good principles of conduct, but who accuse the Christian religion of being an enemy of the State when the same precepts, or similar ones, are read and explained in the Christian churches. Referring to Cicero, he relates his words in praise of Caesar's character, in which he says that Caesar was wont to forget nothing except the wrongs which were done to him. This Augustine interprets as refraining from revenge, which is merely another way of saying, "Render to no man evil for evil." He declares that, if the Christian religion were heeded, its influence for the establishment and increase of the state would surpass all that Romulus, Numa, Brutus, and other renowned men of Rome had achieved.[77]

Vergilium, et insultare, quare hoc dixerit; in parte tolleret nos, et diceret nobis: Et ego scio; sed quid facerem qui Romanis verba vendebam, nisi hac adulatione aliquid promitterem quod falsum erat? . . . *Serm.* 105, 7, 9-10.

[77] . . . quomodo Caesari administratori utique reipublicae, mores eius extollens Cicero dicebat, quod nihil oblivisci soleret nisi iniurias? (*Pro Q. Ligario*, c. 12). . . . Quid est autem non reddere malum pro malo, nisi adhorrere ab ulciscendi libidine? quod est accepta iniuria ignoscere malle quam persequi, et nihil nisi iniurias oblivisci.

Haec cum in eorum leguntur auctoribus, exclamatur et plauditur; . . . Cum vero legitur praecipiente auctoritate divina, non reddendum malum pro malo; cum haec tam salubris admonitio congregationibus populorum . . . accusatur religio tamquam inimica reipublicae! Quae si, ut dignum est, audiretur, longe melius Romulo, Numa, Bruto, caeterisque illis Romanae gentis praeclaris viris, constitueret, consecraret, firmaret, augeretque rempublicam. . . . *Epist.* 138, 2, 9-10.

CONCLUSION (Romulus)

The traditional character of Romulus as the founder of Rome, and his apotheosis, are clearly indicated in the allusions found in Saint Augustine. His asylum for criminals and the murder of his brother are censured. The interpretations of Romulus seem to be based on Cicero and Vergil.

6. Genius.

Saint Augustine makes but one direct reference to a tutelary Genius. This is found in Sermon 62.

Sermones.

After a general exhortation in which the Christians are urged not to sit at meat in the temples of idols, Augustine refers in particular to the worship of the tutelary Genius of Carthage. He states that some will say that this is not a god, as forsooth, if it were Mars or Mercury, it would be a god. As to what it is in itself, it is evident that it is merely a stone. If it is supposed to be any ornament to the city of Carthage, Augustine recommends that the citizens, by living well, become the Genius of Carthage, and thus dispose of the need of this tutelary Genius. Quoting the words of Saint Paul which pertain to the offering of sacrifice to devils (I *Cor.* X, 20), Augustine points out that Saint Paul meant just such sacrifice as this which is offered to the Genius of Carthage, for the Christians know that the Genius is no god. However, the altar stands as a witness that the Genius is considered as a deity. Augustine hopes that it will not be so considered by those who sit at meat with the worshippers of this tutelary Genius.[78]

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[78] . . . *Inepta excusatio recumbentium in idolio.* Non est, inquit, deus; quia genium est Carthaginis. Quasi si Mars aut Mercurius esset, deus esset. Sed quomodo ab ipsis habeatur, attende; non quid sit. Nam et ego tecum scio quia lapis est. Si genium ornamentum est aliquod; cives Carthaginis bene vivant, et ipsi erunt genium Carthaginis. Si autem genium daemonium est, audisti et ibi: *Quae immolant Gentes, daemonibus immolant, et non Deo: nolo vos socios fieri daemoniorum* (I *Cor.* X, 20). . . . Nam et illi quod numen habeant et pro numine accipiant illam statuam, ara testatur. Quid illic facit ara, si illud non habetur pro numine? Nemo mihi dicat, Non est numen, non est deus. Iam dixi, Vtinam sic ipsi norint hoc,

7. Juno.

Allusions to Juno are found in the *Confessions, De Divinatione Daemonum, Contra Faustum, Quaestionum in Heptateuchum, Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum, De Vtilitate Ieiunii, Sermones* and *Epistulae.* The *Sermones* contain the greater number of references to this divinity.

Confessions.

In the first book of the *Confessions* Augustine recalls his declamation of the Vergilian verses which described the angry Juno, who used her every effort to thwart the Trojan king from entering Italy. He regrets that his talents were wasted on such trifles and follies; that is, in learning the words of Juno, which were never uttered by her.[79]

De Divinatione Daemonum.

Concerning prophecies which foretold the destruction of idols, Augustine states that the pagans who were worshipping in the temples did not believe that those things would come to pass, nor did they wish to have these things spread abroad. So too Vergil indicates that Juno did not believe what Jupiter had predicted about the death of Turnus, as she, an aerial power, addressed him thus: [80]

> Nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, aut ego veri

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quomodo novimus omnes nos. Sed quid habeant, pro qua re habeant, quid ibi faciant, ara illa testatur. Convicit omnium colentium mentes, non convincat recumbentes. . . . *Serm.* 62, 6, 10.

[79] . . . Proponebatur enim mihi negotium animae meae satis inquietum, praemio laudis, et dedecoris vel plagarum metu, ut dicerem verba Iunonis irascentis et dolentis quod non posset Italia Teucrorum avertere regem (*Aen.* I, 36-75); quae numquam Iunonem dixisse audieram: sed figmentorum poeticorum vestigia errantes sequi cogebamur, et tale aliquid dicere solutis verbis, quale poeta dixisset versibus; . . . Nonne ecce illa omnia fumus et ventus? Itane aliud non erat ubi exerceretur ingenium et lingua mea? . . . *Conf.* 1, 17, 27.

[80] . . . aut non credebant ista sibi ventura, qui in templis gentium colebantur, et ideo haec per suos vates ac fanaticos frequentare noluerunt; sicut eorum poeta Iunonem inducit non omni modo credentem, quae de Turni morte Iuppiter dixerat. Iuno autem ab istis potestas aeria praedicatur quae apud Vergilium sic loquitur; . . . *Divin. Daem.* 1, 7, 11.

> Vana feror; quod ut o potius formidine falsa
> Ludar; et in melius tua, qui potes, orsa reflectas!
> (Verg. *Aen.* 10, 630-632.)

Contra Faustum.

In mentioning the names of gods given to the months of the year, Augustine speaks of June as named in honor of Juno.[81]

Quaestionum in Heptateuchum.

In commenting upon the text, *Et servierunt Baal et Astartibus* (*Iud.* II, 13), Augustine identifies these divinities with Jupiter and Juno. He explains the use of Astartibus as in keeping with the multiplicity of images of Juno, which have given rise to the term *Iunones.*[82]

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

To dispose of the idea that images are worshipped as such, the pagans interpret their worship of them by saying that they do not worship an image nor a demon, but that they behold a corporeal likeness, a sign, as it were, of this thing. Earth is designated by the temple of Tellus, the sea by an image of Neptune, the air by Juno, fire by Vulcan, the morning star by Venus. When they are censured because they worship these bodies, the earth, the sea, the air, and fire, they do not venture to say that they worship these bodies themselves; they say they worship the powers which rule over these forces.[83]

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[81] *C. Faust.* 18, 5. Fowler does not agree with this statement, that the month of June was named in honor of Juno.—*Roman Festivals,* 99. See Roscher, *Ausfürhliches Lexikon,* II, 1, 575-576.

[82] . . . Et quoniam istae linguae non multum inter se differunt, merito creditur hic de filiis Israel hoc dicere Scriptura, quod Baal servierunt et Astartibus, quia Iovi et Iunonibus. Nec movere debet quod non dixit Astarti, id est Iunoni; sed tamquam multae sint Iunones, pluraliter hoc nomen posuit. Ad simulacrorum enim multitudinem referri voluit intellectum, quoniam unumquodque Iunonis simulacrum Iuno vocabatur; ac per hoc tot Iunones, quot simulacra intelligi voluit varietatis autem causa existimo Iovem singulariter Iunones pluraliter commemorare voluisse. Nam eadem causa plurium simulacrorum etiam Ioves pluraliter dici possent. Hoc autem, id est, nomine plurali Iunones, in graecis secundum Septuaginta reperimus, in latinis autem singulariter erat. Quorum in illo qui non habebat Septuaginta interpretationem, sed ex hebraeo erat, Astaroth legimus; nec Baal, sed Baalim. Quod si forte aliud in hebraea vel syra lingua nomina ista significant deas tamen alios fuisse constat et falsos, quibus Israel servire non debuit.—*Quaest. Hept.* 7, 16. For the cult of Iunones see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus,* 175 ff., 182, 191; also Roscher, *Lexikon,* s. v. *Iunones,* II, 1, 615-618.

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

How the pagans can hold such vain opinions about the God of Israel, whom they cannot deny to be a God, is a question of great concern to Augustine in *De Consensu Evangelistarum.* Some hold that He is the deity who presides over the elements, as a certain pagan had remarked to Saint Augustine. If He is, why is He not worshipped in preference to individual deities who preside over only certain elements; for example, Neptune, who presides over the sea, or Juno, who holds possession of the air only? Others are mentioned, as Silvanus, who has jurisdiction over the fields and the woods, and the Sun and the Moon, each with a definite sphere. All of these deities must necessarily be under that Deity who presides over all of the elements. Augustine states that they will not be able to make a correct judgment concerning the God of Israel until they come to the knowledge that He alone is the true God by Whom all things were created.[84] In regard to one deity prohibiting the worship of another, Augustine states that there might be some reason for Hercules interdicting the worship of Juno, his persecutor. In this same discussion Augustine adds a brief reference to Juno in her sphere of patron deity of matrons.[85]

De Vtilitate Ieiunii.

Augustine, in discussing the harmony of worship which exists among the pagans in their worship of pagan divinities who are at variance with one another, mentions Juno and Hercules as deities unfriendly to each other, but equally worshipped in their temples.[86]

Sermones.

By way of illustrating the text, *Et recedat ab iniquitate omnis*

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[83] *In Psalm.* 113, 4.

[84] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 29, 45.

[85] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 25, 38.

[86] *Vtil. Ieiun.* 7, 9. Augustine's statements on the cults of Juno and Hercules confirm the opinion of Wissowa that Juno and Hercules were not worshipped under one cult-title. See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus,* 280 ff.

qui nominat nomen Domini (II *Tim.* II, 19), Saint Augustine explains that if one does not depart from iniquity, he can have no share in the kingdom of Christ, and he indicates that the spirit of avarice and luxury are divided among themselves, and that both belong to the kingdom of the devil. So, among idolators, the spirit of Juno and the spirit of Hercules are divided among themselves and they, too, belong to the kingdom of the devil. Other examples are added, as the pagan and the Jew, and Arius and Photinus, the heretics. He closes his discussion by mentioning the ungodly and others who are divided against themselves, and says that these do not belong to the kingdom of Christ.[87]

In refuting the charges made against the Christians that Rome perished during Christian times, Augustine makes a brief survey of the events leading up to the foundation of Rome. He recalls the flight of the Trojans from burning Troy, and describes Aeneas as the bearer of the fugitive gods, which were unable to escape the burning city of their own accord. Rome was founded with these conquered gods as her protectors. Augustine quotes the words in which Vergil depicts the wrath of Juno as she tried to prevent Aeneas and the Trojans from entering Italy.[88]

In a sermon on the holy martyrs, reference is made to the gods in whose honor temples were erected and rites were offered. All of these things are insignificant and trifling in comparison with the martyrs. Augustine rather hesitates to make the comparison at all. However, he asks of what avail is Juno in comparison with the faith of a little old Christian woman.[89]

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[87] . . . Apud idolorum cultores, spiritus Iunonis et spiritus Herculis divisi sunt adversum se; et ambo pertinent ad regnum diaboli. . . . *Serm.* 71, 2, 4.

[88] Inducitur a poeta ipsorum Iuno irascens Aeneae et Troianis fugientibus, et dicit,

Gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor,
Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penates: (Verg. *Aen.*, I, 67, 68).

id est, deos victos portans secum in Italiam. Iam quando dii in Italiam victi portabantur, numen erat, an omen? Diligite ergo legem Dei, et non sit vobis scandalum. . . . *Serm.* 81, 9.

[89] . . . Quid ergo, fratres mei, quid vobis dicam de hominibus illis quos Pagani pro diis coluerunt, quibus templa, sacerdotia, altaria, sacrificia exhibuerunt? Quid vobis dicam? non illos esse comparandos martyribus

In the fragments of the sermon entitled *De Calendis Ianuariis, contra Paganos,* Saint Augustine admonishes the Christians against the practices of idolatry and the worship of the elements. He speaks of Juno as identified with one of the elements, the air; but the passage in which this allusion occurs has come down to us only as a fragment. Quoting the words of Saint Paul: *Cavete ne quis vos decipiat per philosophiam et inanem fallaciam, secundum elementa mundi huius* (*Coloss.* II, 8), Augustine warns the people by his reference to *per philosophiam* to beware of the interpretations of the more learned.[90]

Epistulae.

Maximus of Madaura mentions Juno as one of the pagan divinities whose worship he does not wish to see diminished by honor paid to the memory of the martyrs.[91]

In a letter to Nectarius (408), Augustine alludes to a festival of Juno celebrated on the Kalends of June.[92]

CONCLUSION (Juno)

Juno was known to Saint Augustine particularly through his study of Vergil. His intimate familiarity with the poet shows how thoroughly Vergil was studied and considered an authority in the pagan schools of the age. Augustine makes reference to the common pagan opinion that Juno was the air. He comments on the enmity existing between Juno and Hercules, and points out that these two divinities are equally worshipped in their temples.

8. Tellus.

An allusion is made to Tellus in *Enarrationes in Psalmos.*

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nostris? Etiam hoc ipsum iniuria est, quia vel dico. Quibuscumque, qualibuscumque infirmis fidelibus, licet adhuc carnalibus et lacte alendis, non cibo, absit ut illi sacrilegi comparentur. Contra unam aniculam fidelem christianam quid valet Iuno? . . . *Serm.* 273, 6, 6.

[90] Quid est Iuno? Iuno, inquiunt, est aer. Iam dudum invitabat ut mare coleremus in simulacro telluris: nunc invitat ut aerem colamus. Elementa sunt ista, quibus mundus iste consistit. . . . *Serm.* 197, 6.

[91] *Epist.* 16, 1. This letter is discussed more fully on page 22 ff.

[92] *Epist.* 91, 8.

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

The pagans claim that they worship not images but the powers represented by the images, so that, in the case of an image of the earth, they do not worship the image, but they worship the earth, and for this reason they are accustomed to speak of a temple of Tellus.[93]

9. Flora.

Allusions to Flora occur in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and *Epistulae.*

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

In refutation of the complaint made by the pagans that the happiness of life had been impaired in Christian times, Augustine advises that they read the books of their philosophers, in which the very things whose loss they now lament are reprehended. Then indeed will they find much to praise in the Christian times. As to the withdrawal of former amusements and pleasures, since theatres, places of iniquity that they are, are falling in almost all localities, and since fora and cities in which the pagan deities were accustomed to be worshipped are falling, this destruction is a natural consequence of the failure of the very things in whose honor they were constructed.[94] Then he refers to the fact that Cicero considered Roscius too good a man to come upon the stage, thus bearing witness to the disreputable character of the scenic representations in which the gods delighted. Cicero is cited as an authority for the nature of the celebrations in honor of Flora, for which he made arrangements at one time. He states that he had to appease Flora, the mother of games, by frequent celebration of games in which such vice was exhibited that other celebrations are respectable in comparison; and yet good men are prohibited from taking part even in the latter. Augustine wonders what type of goddess Flora is, who desires to be propitiated by such rites, and also questions the propriety of Cicero's worshipping such a goddess.[95] He then adds that, if the pagan gods are offended because the supplies which are usually allotted for the purpose of such celebrations are lessened, the character of such divinities is easily inferred. If the wrath of the gods is responsible for the lessening of supplies necessary for celebrating licentious games in their honor, then the gods in their anger are really more beneficial than otherwise. In conclusion, Augustine asks the pagans to confute their own philosophers or to break into pieces those gods who have made such demands on their worshippers, provided they can still find any such deities to break or conceal. He bids them cease from their blasphemous charge that Christian times have ruined their prosperity, which was so used by them as to be a detriment to their well-being.[96]

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[93] . . . Itaque interpretantur simulacra, ut alio dicant significari terram, unde templum solent appellare Telluris; ...quorum simulacris eadem nomina sicut Telluris imponunt: . . . *In Psalm.* 113, *Serm.* II, 4.

[94] Deinde quod de felicitatis rerum humanarum deminutione per christiana tempora conqueruntur, si libros philosophorum suorum legant ea reprehendentium quae nunc eis etiam recusantibus et murmurantibus subtrahuntur, tum vero magnam laudem repperient temporum christianorum. Quid enim eis minuitur felicitatis, nisi quod pessime luxurioseque abutebantur in magnam creatoris iniuriam? nisi forte hinc sunt tempora mala, quia per omnes paene civitates cadunt theatra, caveae turpitudinum et publicae professiones flagitiorum, cadunt et fora vel moenia, in quibus demonia colebantur. Vnde enim cadunt nisi inopia rerum, quarum lascivo et sacrilego usu constructa sunt? . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 33, 51.

Epistulae.

Commenting upon the conditions of communities in which the rich must squander their estates to provide actors to represent the infamous achievements of the gods and the poor must be despoiled of their flocks to provide sacrifice for them, Augustine speaks of the flowers whose mother, they say, is not the earth but the goddess Flora. In her honor are celebrated shameful and dissolute scenic games. She is not appeased with the usual sacrifice of birds or animals, nor even of human life; but modesty perishes as a sacrifice in her celebration.[97]

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[95] . . . et tamen di eorum tali dedecore placabantur, quale a viris bonis removendum esse censebat. Est etiam hinc eiusdem ipsius Ciceronis aperta confessio, ubi ait sibi Floram matrem ludorum celebritate placandam (Cic. *Verr.* II, 5, 15, 16). In quibus ludis tanta exhiberi turpitudo consuevit, ut in eorum comparatione ceteri honesti sint, a quibus tamen etiam ipsis agendis viri boni prohibentur. Quae ista est Flora mater, qualis dea est, quam celebrior et habenis effusioribus laxata conciliat et propitiat turpitudo? . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 33, 51.

[96] . . . Quapropter aut philosophos suos arguant, qui talia in luxuriosis hominibus reprehenderunt, aut deos suos frangant, qui talia de suis cultoribus exegerunt, si tamen iam inveniunt vel quos frangant vel quos abscondant; Christianorum vero temporibus defectum rerum secundarum, quo in turpia ex noxia diffluebant, blasphemando imputare desistant, ne magis nos unde amplius Christi potestas laudetur admoneant.—*Cons. Evang.* 1, 33, 51

CONCLUSION (Flora)

The allusions to Flora indicate that her worship was active as late as the early fifth century. In a letter to Nectarius a direct reference is made to her contemporary worship by the performance of her scenic games in 408. Augustine, in *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, makes an interesting allusion to the celebration of games in honor of Flora by Cicero.

10. Saturn.

The allusions to Saturn are found chiefly in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and in *Enarrationes in Psalmos.* Scattered references occur in the *Confessions, Contra Faustum, Contra Litteras Petiliani, De Genesi ad Litteram, De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber,* and *In Iohannis Evangelium.* In *De Consensu Evangelistarum,* Saint Augustine was particularly interested in the traditional opinions held concerning Saturn. The ideas current in his own time are alluded to more often in *Enarrationes in Psalmos.*

Confessions.

In the fourth book of the *Confessions,* Augustine recalls that as a young man he consulted astrologers, because they did not use sacrifices or invoke the aid of any spirit for their divinations. Now he contrasts the astrologers' advice—that man can blame Saturn, Venus, or Mars for one's own sin, thus placing the cause of sin in heaven—with the Christian doctrine of sorrow and penitence.[98]

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[97] . . . Horum plane florum non terra fertilis, non aliqua opulens virtus, sed illa dea Flora digna mater inventa est, cuius ludi scenici tam effusiore et licentiore turpitudine celebrantur ut quivis intelligat quale daemonium sit quod placari aliter non potest, nisi illic non aves, non quadrupedes, non denique sanguis humanus, sed multo scelestius pudor humanus tamquam immolatus intereat. . . . *Epist.* 91, 5.

[98] *Conf.* 4, 3, 4.

Contra Faustum.

Faustus, the Manichaean, had brought a charge against the Christians that their observance of the Sabbath was the same as being bound by the fetters of Saturn.[99] In his *Contra Faustum,* Saint Augustine explains that the worship of Saturn was in no way connected with the observance of the Sabbath, as testified by the words of Saint Paul (*Col.* II, 17). He states that it would be just as logical to say that the Manichaeans worshipped Mars because the month of March is named in his honor and during March one of the principal festivals of the Manichaeans is observed. But if Faustus thinks that the worship of Mars need not be associated with the month of March, then surely there is no reason for connecting the name of Saturn with the Sabbath, just because the day is called Saturday by the pagans.[100] Augustine again refers to this charge in chapter 20, section 13, of this work.

Contra Litteras Petiliani.

In *Contra Litteras Petiliani,* in speaking of the baptism administered by one who baptizes according to the living Christ, Augustine speaks of the person as dead who is concerned with the rites of the dead Saturn.[101]

De Genesi ad Litteram.

In discussing the nature of the elements in *De Genesi ad Litteram,* Augustine states that there are some who assert that the star which they call Saturn is very cold, and that it takes thirty years for it to pass through the constellation belt. This length of time is necessary because, the greater the distance from the earth, the greater is the space traversed by the star. The sun passes through the same belt in one year, and the moon in a month. This is accounted for by the fact that they are so much lower than Saturn, and in proportion have a shorter distance to pass through. Augustine, moreover, refers to the problem of Saturn being a cold star, when its height in the heavens would seem to make it very hot.[102]

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[99] *C. Faust.* 18, 2.

[100] Nec nos terret insultatio tua, quod sabbatorum otium, catenas Saturniacas appellas . . . sic otium sabbatorum sine Saturni veneratione a patribus observatum est, cum sic illud observari oportebat: erat enim umbra futurorum, sicut Apostolus testis est (*Coloss.* II, 17). . . . Vultis ergo ut et vos dicamini in mensi Martio Martem colere? Illo enim mense Bema vestrum cum magna festivitate celebratis. Si autem vobis in mense Martio licere arbitramini aliud considerare, non Martem; cur ex die septimo, quod sabbatum a requie nominatum est, divinis Scripturis Saturnum importare conamini, quia eum diem Saturni Gentes appellaverunt? Nempe iam videtis cum quanta impietate deliretis.—*C. Faust.* 18, 5.

[101] *C. Petil.* 2, 7, 16. For an account of the worship of Saturn as an African cult, see Toutain, *Les cultes païens dans l'Empire romain,* III, 15-29.

De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber.

Saturn is again alluded to in *De Genesi ad Litteram Imperfectus Liber* as a star which completes its course in thirty years.[103] In this same work Augustine refers to Saturn as the highest in the heavens of a group of seven stars. It is represented as cold and slow of motion, taking thirty years to pass through the starry belt.[104]

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

In the comment on the tenth verse of Psalm 34, Saint Augustine refers to the worship of Saturn as an idol. In the same passage he quotes verse 85 of Psalm 118, "the wicked have told me fables but not as thy law," and mentions the examples of persecutors who have said, "Adore Saturn; adore Mercury." But the Christian refusing to worship idols answered that he did not venerate idols made by man.[105] In another passage Augustine calls attention to the truly penitent person, who does not say that Saturn made him avaricious but admits his fault and asks mercy of God.[106] Such a person is contrasted with the proud man who says that he did no wrong but that Saturn did wrong.[107] In his reference to the indifference of the stars to the various names applied to them by men, Augustine includes Saturn as one of the pagan divinities whose names have been given to stars. He cites such expressions as "illa stella Saturni est."[108] As an example of the influence of false teachings, Augustine shows how those who set forth false doctrines drew people away from the worship of the true God. In his interpretation of the text: *Sermones iniquorum praevaluerunt super nos* (*Ps.* LXIV, 4), he explains that the champions of Jupiter, Saturn, and Mercury had prevailed over men.[109]

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[102] Quidem etiam nostri . . . de ipsorum siderum qualitatibus et meatibus convincere moliuntur. Iidem namque asserunt stellam quam Saturni appellant, esse frigidissimam, eamque per annos triginta signiferum peragere circulum, eo quod superior, ac per hoc ampliore ambitu graditur. Nam sol eumdem circulum per annum complet, et luna per mensem; tanto, ut dicunt, brevius, quanto inferius, ut spatio loci spatium temporis congruat. Quaeritur itaque ab eis, unde illa stella sit frigida, quae tanto ardentior esse deberet, quanto sublimiore caelo rapitur. . . . *Gen. ad Litt.* 2, 5, 9.

[103] . . . annus est eius sideris quod Φαέθοντα Graeci vocant, et triginta solis anni annus est eius sideris quod Φαίνων dicitur. . . . *Gen. ad Litt. Imperf.* 13, 38.

[104] . . . Et documentum adhibere conati sunt de tarditate stellae unius de septem vagantibus, quae superior est caeteris, et a Graecis Φαίνων dicitur, et triginta annis peragit signiferum circulum, et ob hoc tarda sit, quia est frigidis aquis vicinior, quae supra caelum sunt. . . . *Gen. ad Litt. Imperf.* 8, 29.

In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 98, commenting on verse 9, *Exaltate Dominum Deum nostrum, et adorate in monte sancto eius; quoniam sanctus Dominus Deus noster,* Augustine refers to the vision of Daniel, in which he saw the stone, cut without hands from the mountain, which shattered all the kingdoms of the earth. (*Dan.* VI, 34, 35). He explains how the mountain symbolizes the Jewish kingdom, and the stone symbolizes Our Lord Jesus Christ. It has been seen how the stone has increased and extended over many nations. All the kingdoms of the earth have been broken. The kingdoms of idols and demons have been crushed. Augustine comments on the fact that Saturn used to rule over many kingdoms. "Where is his kingdom?" Mercury used to rule over many men. "Where is his kingdom?" He states that these have been shattered and have been brought under the Kingdom of Christ, in which He is ruling.[110] In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 145, Augustine exhorts the people to put their trust in the Lord God, for he states that he who worships Saturn places his hope in Saturn as his lord and god. This statement of Augustine indicates that the worship of Saturn was practiced at the time that this discourse was given.[111]

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[105] *In Psalm.* 34, *Serm.* I, 13.

[106] *In Psalm*, 40, 6.

[107] *In Psalm.* 128, 9.

[108] *In Psalm.* 93, 5.

[109] *In Psalm.* 64, 7.

[110] . . . Quae erant regna terrae? Regna idolorum regna daemoniorum fracta sunt. Regnabat Saturnus in multis hominibus: ubi est regnum eius? Regnabat Mercurius in multis hominibus: ubi est regnum eius? Fractum est, redacti sunt illi in re regnum Christi, in quibus ille regnabat.

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

In the first book of *De Consensu Evangelistarum,* after Saint Augustine has shown that the prophets of the pagans have predicted nothing in opposition to the God of the Hebrews, and that other deities have not interdicted the worship of God, he questions the pagans as to who this God is, Who renders void the rites and worship of the pagan gods. In reply he states that some say that He is Saturn. He explains this opinion as one which has developed from the assigning of the day of the Sabbath to Saturn.[112] In section 32 of the same book Saturn is listed among the gods who, according to Euhemerus, were at one time men. Augustine states that the ancients could well be supposed to have raised Saturn to a place among the gods as the Romans are said to have done in regard to Romulus. Furthermore, he calls attention to the fact that the stars have received the names of men whom other men wished to honor, and he mentions Saturn as a star upon which such a name was imposed.[113]

Among the interpretations for Saturn given by Augustine is that of Vergil, who describes him as the first deity to come down from Olympus driven from his kingdom by Jupiter. To him is attributed the organization of the scattered peoples, the granting of laws, and the bestowal of the name of Latium upon his new home.

> arma Iovis fugiens et regnis exsul ademptis,
> qui genus indocile et dispersum montibus altis
> composuit legesque dedit Latiumque vocari
> maluit, his quoniam latuisset tutus in oris? (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 320-324.)

His image represents him with head covered, as if to indicate that

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. . . Lapis ille fregit omnia regna terrarum, lapis praecisus de monte sine manibus. . . . *In Psalm.* 98, 14.

[111] *In Psalm.* 145, 12.

[112] . . . Quid interrogem homines, qui evanuerunt cogitando, quis iste sit? alii dicunt: Saturnus est, credo propter sabbati sanctificationem, quia isti eum diem Saturno tribuerunt. . . . *Cons. Evan.* 1, 22, 30.

[113] *Cons. Evang.*, 1, 23, 32.

he was under concealment. The sickle is a symbol of his having made known the practice of agriculture to the people of Italy.[114] Some do not agree with this interpretation which seems to indicate that Saturn was a man. These interpret Saturn as universal Time. Since he is called Chronus in Greek, it seems consistent to interpret this divinity as Time. Even his Latin name Saturnus can be interpreted to mean *sated with years.* However, Augustine states that they who wish to make their pagan deities appear in a favorable light are proving that all their pagan deities are temporal, if by these interpretations of the meaning of the major deity they indicate that Saturn, the father of them all, is Time.[115] He then proceeds in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* to discuss the new interpretation for Saturn devised by the Neoplatonists, who said that Saturn meant *fulness of intellect.*[116]

Commenting upon the novel interpretation whereby Saturn has been thought of as the supreme mind from which Jupiter emanates as a spirit, Augustine suggests that men should alter their superstitions as readily as their interpretations of names, and then build Capitols in honor of Saturn instead of Jupiter or decide not to have images of the gods at all.[117] In keeping with the new interpretation of Saturn as the supreme mind, the Neoplatonists would be in favor of building capitols in honor of Saturn, and would destroy those astrologers by whom this Saturn has been placed as a deity of evil among the stars. The feeling against giving Saturn such a place in astrology has become so marked that men have chosen to call him Ancient, rather than to use his name, Saturn. This spirit almost influenced the Carthaginians to change the name of their street Saturn to that of Ancient, since they use the name Ancient more frequently than the name Saturn.[118]

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[114] On the representation of Saturn with the sickle, see Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus,* 205-206.

[115] . . . Quid dicunt de Saturno? quem Saturnum colunt? nonne ille est, qui primus ab Olympo venit . . . nonne ipsum eius simulacrum, quod cooperto capite fingitur, quasi latentem indicat? nonne ipse Italis ostendit agriculturam, quod falce demonstrat? non, inquiunt; nam videris, si fuit ille homo et rex quidam, de quo ista narrantur, nos tamen Saturnum interpretamur 'universum tempus', quod Graecum etiam vocabulum eius ostendit; vocatur enim Cronos, quod adspiratione addita etiam temporis nomen est, unde et Latine Saturnus appellatur, quasi saturetur annis. Quid iam cum istis agendum sit, nescio, qui conantes in melius interpretari nomina et simulacra deorum suorum fatentur maiorem deum suum et patrem ceterorum tempus esse. Quid enim aliud indicant quam omnes deos suos temporales esse, quorum patrem ipsum tempus constituunt? . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 34.

[116] This interpretation has been discussed in full in the treatment of Jupiter, page 17.

[117] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 35.

In Iohannis Evangelium.

In Iohannis Evangelium, in discussing the popularity of astrology, Augustine refers to Saturn as one of the divinities assigned, according to the good pleasure of the astrologers, as masters to those who willingly pay money to consult them and to become slaves of Saturn, Jupiter, or Mercury, or some such similar power.[119]

CONCLUSION (Saturn)

A study of the passages relative to the pagan divinity Saturn as known and referred to by Saint Augustine in the writings used for this survey shows that he was familiar with the representative interpretations of this deity in the past, and gives evidence that the worship of Saturn was still active. He mentions Saturn as the old agricultural deity of Italy, who was later identified with the Greek Chronos and interpreted as Time. The inconsistency of the Romans in not honoring Saturn on an equal footing with

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[118] Romani tamen, qui non Saturno, sed Iovi Capitolium condiderunt, vel aliae nationes, quae Iovem praecipue supra ceteros deos colendum esse putaverunt, non hoc quod isti senserunt. Qui secundum istam suam novam opinionem et summas arces, si quicquam in his rebus potestatis habuissent, Saturno potius dedicarent et mathematicos vel genethliacos maxime delerent, qui Saturnum, quem sapientem effectorem isti dicerent, maleficum deum inter alia sidera constituerent. Quae opinio tantum contra illos in animis humanis praevaluit, ut nec nominare illum velint, senem potius quam Saturnum appelantes, tam timida superstitione, ut iam Carthaginienses paene vico suo nomen mutaverint 'vicum senis' crebrius quam 'vicum Saturni' appellantes.—*Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 36.

[119] . . . Nummos accipiunt, cum se homines hominibus vendunt; dant isti nummos, ut se vanitatibus vendant. Intrant enim ad mathematicum, ut emant sibi dominos, quales mathematico dare placuerit; vel Saturnum, vel Iovem, vel Mercurium, vel si quid aliud sacrilegi nominis. Intravit liber, ut nummis datis servus exiret. . . . *In Evang. Ioh.* 8, 11.

Jupiter is pointed out by Augustine. The characteristic features of the image of Saturn, the head covered and the sickle, are mentioned. Euhemerus is cited to show that Saturn was once a man, and that like others he was honored by having his name imposed upon a star. That the astrologers were deeply interested in Saturn as one of the principal stars affecting their observations is emphasized; in fact they were so interested that some of the most ardent devotees of Saturn objected to giving him the character of an evil deity among the stars. That Augustine found it necessary to admonish the Christians concerning these astrological practices and the worship of Saturn is evidence that his cult was still active.

11. Silvanus.

One passing reference to Silvanus is found in *De Consensu Evangelistarum.*

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Referring to the opinion of some pagans that God was the deity who presided over the elements, Augustine asks why they do not worship Him in preference to Silvanus, who is the patron of the fields and woods only.[120]

12. Neptune.

The allusions to Neptune indicate an active interest in the worship of this pagan deity in the early fifth century. His connection with the sea gave him a practical aspect which would hold worshippers, when their interest in other cults was losing fervor. The exegetical works of Saint Augustine offer the greater number of references to Neptune. These are contained in *De Doctrina Christiana, Enarrationes in Psalmos,* and *De Consensu Evangelistarum.* Scattered references are found in the *Confessions, Contra Cresconium, Sermones,* and *Epistulae.*

Confessions.

In a Vergilian quotation illustrative of the teaching of Victorinus at Rome, a literary reference is made to Neptune as one of Rome's ancient divinities.[121]

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[120] . . . Si enim praepositus est elementorum quibus mundus iste consistit, cur non potius solus ipse colitur, . . . quam denique Silvanus, qui solorum agrorum atque silvarum? . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 29, 45.

Contra Cresconium.

In his refutation of Cresconius, the Donatist, Augustine states that criticism of his diction does not disturb him, nor is he moved by the remark that the trident of Neptune is unbecoming to a bishop, for the trident belongs to fishermen and is therefore apostolic, since the Lord made his Apostles to be fishers of men. (*Matt.* IV, 19). He closes his argument with a pointed illustration to the effect that in Holy Scripture there are references to the wings of God and to His arrows; nevertheless Cupid is not worshipped by the Christians.[122]

De Doctrina Christiana.

Representations of Neptune must have been common at this time. In *De Doctrina Christiana,* Augustine states that even if people say that their idols are only signs, yet they use them for worship of the creature. He sees no difference between saying that the image of Neptune is not a god and that it represents the sea. He recalls a vivid description of Neptune:

> Tu, Neptune pater, cui tempora cana crepanti
> Cincta salo resonant, magnus cui perpete mento
> Profluit oceanus, et flumina crinibus errant.[123]

Augustine compares this description of Neptune to a husk which contains rattling stones within a sweet covering—food, not for men but for swine. He states that the explanation of the purpose of the image of Neptune is of no advantage to him unless he refuses to worship either the ocean or the image; for any statue is as much a god to him as the wide ocean. However, he is of the opinion that those who make gods of the works of God are not as blameworthy as those who make gods of the works of men. He urges the Christians to love the one God, Who created all the things whose images the pagans worship as gods or as the representations of gods.[124]

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[121] *Conf.* 8, 2, 3. See page 61 for citation of this passage.

[122] . . . Neque enim me movet quod Neptunium telum propter tridentem dicis episcopum non decere, cum sit et piscatorium, ac per hoc apostolicum, quod suos Apostolos Dominus piscatores hominum fecit (*Matth.* IV, 19). Nam et Deum nostrum scriptura dicit et alas habere (*Ps.* XVI, 8, et XXXV, 8) et sagittas (*Ps.* XVII, 15), nec tamen Cupidinem colimus.—*C. Cres.* 3, 78, 89.

[123] Verses of an unknown poet; see *Doctr. Christ.* 3, 7, 11, n. Benedictine edition (Gaume).

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

Commenting on the vanity of worshipping idols, Saint Augustine again refers to the Neoplatonic idea, by which some say that they worship not the image but what it represents. Thus, they worship the sea through the representation of Neptune. He describes the worshippers of the sea as standing within sound of the dashing waves behind them, and yet they worship a statue of Neptune as if it could actually hear them as a living being.[125]

In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 145, Neptune is mentioned together with Saturn, Mars, and Mercury as a pagan god in whom men place their hope. This would indicate that the worship of these divinities was active in Augustine's time.[126] In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 26, he states that there are some who say that the worship of God is necessary for eternal life, that is, for spiritual life, but that inferior powers are to be worshipped for temporal things. If Christians alone composed his audience on this occasion, this allusion to the worship of the pagan deities indicates that some were still held by the ancient practice of worshipping the pagan gods.

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[124] . . . Quid enim mihi prodest simulacrum, verbi gratia, Neptuni non ipsum habendum Deum, sed eo significari universum mare, vel etiam omnes aquas caeteras, quae fontibus proruunt? . . . Haec siliqua intra dulce tectorium sonantes lapillos quatit; non est autem hominum, sed porcorum cibus. Novit quid dicam, qui Evangelium novit (*Luc.* XV, 16). Quid ergo mihi prodest quod Neptuni simulacrum ad illam significationem refertur, nisi forte ut neutrum colam? tam enim statua quaelibet, quam universum, non est deus. Fateor tamen altius demersos esse qui opera hominum deos putant, quam qui opera Dei; sed nobis unus diligendus et colendus Deus praecipitur (*Deut.* VI, 5) qui fecit haec omnia, quorum illi simulacra venerantur, vel tamquam deos, vel tamquam signa et imagines deorum. . . . *Doctr. Christ.* 3, 7, 11.

[125] . . . et cum sonitu maris a tergo feriantur, Neptuni statuam quam pro ipso mari colunt, quasi sentientem gemitibus feriunt. . . . *In Psalm.* 113, *Serm.* II, 5.

[126] *In Psalm.* 145, 6, 12.

He further states that God does not wish to be worshipped with these pagan divinities, whose temporal favors appeal to the people more than the deities themselves. As an illustration of the futility of obtaining even temporal favors from them, Neptune serves to show the indifference of a pagan divinity toward granting a petition, for not all who worship Neptune are saved from shipwreck; indeed, some who revile Neptune are among those who reach the port.[127]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

In the first book of *De Consensu Evangelistarum* Neptune is listed among the number of pagan deities whom Euhemerus considered as once men.[128] When discussing the inconsistency of the worship of those who thought that God was the deity who presided over all the elements, Augustine asks why He is not worshipped in preference to Neptune who presides over the sea only.[129]

Sermones.

In Sermon 197, entitled *De Calendis Ianuariis, contra Paganos,* the Neoplatonic idea of worshipping not an image, but what it signifies is referred to. A particular reference is made to the statue of Neptune, when Augustine is commenting on the words of Saint Paul to the Romans: *Et coluerunt, et servierunt creaturae potius quam Creatori.* (*Rom.* I, 18-25). He states that they worship either an image or a creature. Furthermore, those who worship an image turn the truth of God into a lie. For the sea is truth and the image of Neptune is a lie made by man. The truth of God has been turned into a lie because God made the sea, and men made the image of Neptune. Here again, it is evident that the cult of Neptune must have been kept up in the early fifth century.[130]

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[127] . . . Et ut noveris quam frustra istos colas, quasi propter temporalia quisquis haec cogitas: omnes qui colunt Neptunum, non naufragaverunt; aut omnes qui blasphemant Neptunum, ad portum non pervenerunt. . . . *In Psalm.* 26, *Enarratio* II, 19.

[128] *Cons. Evang.* 1. 23, 32.

[129] . . . Si enim praepositus est elementorum quibus mundus iste consistit, cur non potius solus ipse colitur, quam Neptunus, qui solius maris praepositus est? . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 29, 45.

[130] . . . Intelligite prudenter. Aut simulacrum enim colunt, aut creaturam. Qui simulacrum colit, convertit veritatem Dei in mendacium.

In Sermon 273, Neptune is included by Augustine in his enumeration of pagan gods who were once men.[131]

Epistulae.

In a letter to Possidius, Bishop of Calama, replying to inquiries made as to the course to be pursued in regard to various superstitions, Augustine states that an express prohibition of every form of superstitious practice is not to be found in Holy Scripture, but all superstition must be thought of as prohibited in general terms. He quotes Saint Paul: *Nolo vos socios fieri daemoniorum* (I *Cor.* X, 20), also, *Quas enim consonantia Christi ad Belial* (II *Cor.* VI, 15). The fact that Belial is mentioned and fellowship with devils is forbidden in general terms is no indication that the Christians are free to sacrifice to Neptune because no express prohibition of the worship of Neptune is found in Scripture. Augustine's specific allusion to the cult of Neptune here would seem to indicate that offerings were still being made to him.[132]

Conclusion (Neptune)

Saint Augustine bears witness to the Neoplatonic view of his time, particularly in his references to Neptune, when he frequently repeats the assertion made by worshippers that they do not worship the image of Neptune but the sea which he represents. His cult was still active, as is evident from the direct reference to his worshippers, and to those who pay honor to him for temporal favors. Little allusion is made to traditional opinions. Allusion is made to Neptune's office of protector against shipwreck and to his characteristic symbol, the trident.

13. Vulcan.

One reference to Vulcan was found in each of four works of Saint Augustine: *Contra Faustum, Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum* and *De Vtilitate Ieiunii.*

Nam mare veritas est, Neptunus autem, mendacium factum ab homine, conversa veritate Dei in mendacium: quia Deus fecit mare; homo autem, simulacrum Neptuni. . . . *Serm.* 197, 1.

[131] *Serm.* 273, 3, 3. For citation of this passage see page 21.

[132] *Epist.* 245, 2.

Contra Faustum.

That the pagans were aware of the nature of the fables about their gods was known to Augustine. He states that they consider them either as poetical fancies or as explanations of the nature of things. Thus, they say that Vulcan is lame because the flame of fire has an irregular motion. Such explanations serve only to make the worship of such divinities all the more absurd, and also prove that they do not worship God from Whom alone they could receive happiness.[133]

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

As Neptune's image was used to represent the sea, the image of Vulcan is worshipped as the representation of fire.[134]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Augustine, in discussing the tolerance of the gods for the worship of one another, states that Vulcan might be expected to prohibit the worship of Mars.[135]

De Vtilitate Ieiunii.

The enmity existing between Vulcan and Mars is again referred to in *De Vtilitae Ieiunii.* Although Vulcan has just cause to prohibit the worshippers of Mars from frequenting his temple, yet they go from the temple of Mars to the temple of Vulcan with no fear of the anger of Vulcan.[136]

Conclusion (Vulcan)

The attributes of Vulcan emphasized in these references are consistent with the traditional character of this divinity.

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[133] . . . Habent quidem et illi quaedam fabulosa figmenta, sed esse illas fabulas norunt; et vel a poetis delectandi causa fictas esse asserunt, vel eas ad naturam rerum vel mores hominum interpretari conantur: sicut Vulcanum claudum, quia ignis terreni motus eiusmodi est; . . . *C. Faust.* 20, 9.

[134] Itaque interpretantur simulacra, ut alio dicant significari . . . ignem, sicut Vulcani. . . . *In Psalm.* 113, *Serm.* II, 4.

[135] . . . saltem Vulcanus prohiberet coli Martem uxoris adulterum, . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 25, 38.

[136] *Vtil. Ieiun.* 7, 9. For citation of this passage see page 32.

14. Priapus.

An allusion to Priapus is made in *De Consensu Evangelistarum.*

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Priapus is alluded to as a divinity whose worship Diana might be expected to prohibit, and as a god of whom Juno too should be ashamed.[137]

15. Cloacina.

There is one incidental allusion to the goddess Cloacina.

Epistulae.

In reminding Maximus of pagan deities in whose rites he might well find material for ridicule, Augustine mentions the goddess Cloacina.[138]

16. Stercutius.

Two allusions are noted for Stercutius.

De Moribus Manichaeorum.

Stercutius is mentioned by Augustine as a deity whom the Romans considered worthy of divine honors.[139]

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[137] . . . Quae ista inter eos est tam foeda consensio, ut nec Diana virgo casta coli prohibeat non dicam Venerem, sed Priapum? nam si unus homo et venator et agricola esse voluerit, servus erit amborum, quibus tamen vel vicina templa fabricare erubescit. Sed interpretentur Dianam virtutem quam volunt, interpretentur et Priapum fecunditatis deum, ita sane, ut in fetandis feminis pudeat Iunonem talem habere adiutorem, dicant quod placet, interpretentur quod sapiunt, dum tamen omnia eorum argumenta perturbet deus Israel. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 25, 38. In the *City of God* Augustine identifies the Roman Priapus with Mutunus or Tutunus—(ipse sit Mutunus vel Tutunus, qui est apud Graecos Priapus. . . . *Civ.* 4, 11). See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, 243.

[138] . . . Verumtamen si ridere delectat, habes apud vos magnam materiam facetiarum: . . . deam Cloacinam . . . et caetera innumerabilia huiuscemodi, quibus . . . colenda censuerunt: . . . *Epist.* 17, 2. See *Civ.* 4, 23; 6, 10, in which Augustine states that Titus Tatius introduced this goddess to the circle of Roman divinities.

[139] . . . Quid stercore aspernabilius? quid cinere abiectius? At haec tantas agris utilitates afferunt, ut eorum inventori, a quo etiam stercus nomen accepit, Stercutio divinos honores Romani deferendos putarent. . . . *Mor. Manich.* 2, 8, 12.

Epistulae.

Stercutius is included among the number of ancient Roman deities mentioned by Augustine in his letter to Maximus.[140]

B. Di Novensides of Italic Origin.

1. Diana.

The allusions to Diana are found in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and in *Enarrationes in Psalmos.*

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

In Augustine's discussion of the tolerance of the pagan divinities for the worship of one another, he questions the propriety of Diana, the chaste maiden, in not interdicting the worship of Venus or Priapus. If a man chooses to be both a hunter and a farmer, in all probability he will wish to propitiate both Diana and Priapus, deities differing in virtue to such an extent that he will not care to erect temples to them in the same vicinity.[1]

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

Commenting upon the words of the Athenians as narrated in *Acts* XVII, 18, in regard to the preaching of Saint Paul, Augustine alludes to the worship of Diana by the Ephesians and their acclamations in her honor in the theatre.[2]

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[140] . . . Verumtamen si ridere delectat, habes apud vos magnam materiam facetiarum: deum Stercutium. . . . *Epist.* 17, 2. See *Civ.* 18, 15, in which Augustine connects the name Stercutius with Sterces, who, according to one legend, was the Father of Picus. Stercutius is traced back to the minor divinities of the Indigimenta. See Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Sterculus, III A2, 2412.

[1] . . . Quae ista inter eos est tam foeda consensio, ut nec Diana virgo casta coli prohibeat non dicam Venerem, sed Priapum? Nam si unus homo et venator et agricola esse voluerit, servus erit amborum, quibus tamen vel vicina templa fabricare erubescit. Sed interpretentur Dianam virtutem quam volunt, . . . *Cons. Evang.*, 1, 25, 38.

[2] . . . *Quid est hoc? Peregrinorum daemoniorum videtur iste annuntiator esse* (*Act.* XVII, 18): hoc Athenienses. Ephesii autem quo tumultu occidere Apostolos voluerunt, quando in theatro pro Diana sua tantum strepitum fecerunt, ut clamarent: *Magna Diana Ephesia* (*Act.* XIX, 28). . . . *In Psalm.* 45, 7.

CONCLUSION (Diana)

Augustine refers to the traditional interpretation of Diana as a virgin and to her cult among the Ephesians.

2. Minerva.

Allusions to Minerva are found in *Confessions, Contra Faustum, De Haeresibus, De Consensu Evangelistarum,* and *Epistulae.*

Confessions.

An interesting passage occurs in the eighth book of the *Confessions,* in which Augustine mentions Victorinus the venerable professor of rhetoric at Rome, who for many years had been a worshipper of idols and an admirer of the ancient rites. He had taught the Romans to enjoy the Vergilian lines descriptive of the Oriental monsters and the dog Anubis, which had raised their weapons against Neptune, Venus, and Minerva. Augustine states they were monsters whom Rome once conquered and now worshipped. At last Victorinus cast aside what he had taught and defended for so many years, and embraced Christianity.[3]

Contra Faustum.

The pagan custom of worshipping the virtues of the creature is exemplified in Minerva, the personification of prudence. Minerva sprang from the head of Jupiter; according to Plato, prudence has its seat in the head.[4]

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[3] . . . usque ad illam aetatem venerator idolorum sacrorumque sacrilegorum particeps, quibus tunc tota fere Romana nobilitas inflata inspirabat populo iam et omnigenum deum monstra, et Anubem latratorem, quae aliquando

contra Neptunum et Venerem contraque Minervam
(Verg. *Aen.*, 8, 678-700.)

tela tenuerant et a se victis iam Roma supplicabat; quae iste senex Victorinus tot annos ore terricrepo defensitaverat: non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui, . . . —*Conf.* 8, 2, 3.

[4] . . . nec solas virtutes ipsius creaturae, sicut Minervam, cuius fabulam quod de Iovis capite nata sit, ad prudentiam consiliorum interpretantur, quae rationis est propria, cui sedem capitis etiam Plato dedit; . . . *C. Faust.* 20, 9.

De Haeresibus.

Augustine mentions the desire of Simon the Magician that the people should believe that he was Jupiter and that a certain Helen was Minerva, and adds that Simon invited his followers to worship his image and Helen's as Jupiter and Minerva.[5]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

If attaching a name of a deity to a star was indicative of special recognition, the omission of Minerva from the realm of the constellations and the preference shown to Venus would point to little regard for virtue as the distinguishing mark of worth.[6]

Epistulae.

Maximus of Madaura included Minerva among the pagan divinities whose worship he did not wish to see diminished in any way by honor paid to the memory of the martyrs.[7] When Augustine was writing to Publicola in 389, as to the proper attitude to be taken toward the meats offered to idols and also to fruits growing within a temple inclosure, he had occasion to refer to the dedication of Athens to Minerva as the guardian deity of the city.[8]

CONCLUSION (Minerva)

That Saint Augustine was familiar with the traditional attributes of Minerva is evident from the allusions which he made to this divinity. He makes no specific allusion to contemporary worship of Minerva.

3. Fortuna.

Allusions to Fortuna occur in *Retractationes, Contra Academicos, De Libero Arbitrio, Contra Faustum, Quaestionum in Heptateuchum,* and *Epistulae.*

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[5] *Haer.* 1.

[6] . . . De quibus quid tantum mali castitas aut quid tantum boni voluptas commeruit, ut inter astra, quae cum sole et luna circumeunt, Venus habeat stellam et Minerva non habeat?—*Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 32.

[7] *Epist.* 16, 2. See page 22 f. for a full discussion of this passage.

[8] . . . Sed si illud quod in agris nascitur, consecratur idolo, vel sacrificatur, tunc inter idolathyta deputandum est. Cavendum est enim, ne si putaverimus non vescendum olere quod nascitur in horto templi idoli, consequens sit ut existimemus non debuisse Apostolum apud Athenas cibum sumere, quia civitas erat Minervae eiusque numini consecrata. . . . *Epist.* 47, 4.

Retractationes.

In the first book of the *Retractationes,* Augustine states that in speaking of Fortune in *Contra Academicos,* he intended to refer to Fortune not as a goddess but as the circumstances attendant upon the course of events.[9] In the same book he says he attributed too much significance to Fortuna as he used the word in *De Beata Vita,* Praefatio.[10] He says he is sorry that in his *De Ordine* (2, 9, 27) he uttered the word Fortune too often.[11]

Contra Academicos.

Augustine makes frequent mention of Fortune in *Contra Academicos,* in his appeal to Romanianus to accept the principles of true philosophy.[12]

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[9] Sed in eisdem tribus libris meis, non mihi placet toties me appellasse Fortunam (Lib. 1, 1, n. 1 et 7); quamvis non aliquam deam voluerim hoc nomine intelligi, sed fortuitum rerum eventum, vel in corporis nostri, vel in externis bonis aut malis. Vnde et illa verba sunt, quae nulla religio dicere prohibet, forte, forsan, forsitan, fortasse, fortuito: quod tamen totum ad divinam revocandum est providentiam. Hoc etiam ibi non tacui dicens: Etenim fortasse, quae vulgo fortuna nominatur, occulto quodam ordine regitur: nihilque aliud in rebus casum vocamus, nisi cuius ratio et causa secreta est. Dixi quidem hoc, verumtamen paenitet me sic illic nominasse fortunam, cum videam homines habere in pessima consuetudine, ubi dici debet, Hoc Deus voluit, dicere, Hoc voluit fortuna! . . . *Retract.* 1, 1, 2.

[10] . . . Displicet autem illic quod Manlio Theodoro, ad quem librum ipsum scripsi, quamvis docto et christiano viro, plus tribui quam deberem (In *praefat.,* n. 7, *sqq.*). Et quod Fortunam etiam illic saepe nominavi. Et quod tempore vitae huius in solo animo sapientis dixi habitare vitam beatam (*Disput.* 3), quomodolibet se habeat corpus eius cum perfectam cognitionem Dei, hoc est qua homini maior esse non possit, in futura vita speret Apostolus, quae sola beata vita dicenda est, ubi corpus incorruptibile atque immortale spiritui suo sine ulla molestia vel reluctatione subdetur. . . . *Retract.* 1, 2.

[11] Verum et in his libris displicet mihi saepe interpositum fortunae vocabulum. . . . *Retract.* I, 3, 2.

[12] O utinam, Romaniane, hominem sibi aptum ita vicissim virtus fortunae repugnanti posset auferre, ut ab ea sibi auferri neminem patitur! iam tibi profecto iniecisset manum suique iuris te esse proclamans, et in bonorum certissimorum possessionem traducens, ne prosperis quidem casibus servire permitteret. Sed quoniam ita comparatum est, sive pro meritis nostris, sive pro necessitate naturae (Lib. 1 *Retract.* 1, n. 2) ut divinum animum mortalibus inhaerentem, nequaquam sapientiae portus accipiat, ubi neque

De Libero Arbitrio.

There is a brief reference to blind Fortune in *De Libero Arbitrio.*[13]

Contra Faustum.

In *Contra Faustum,* Augustine, in relating the various interpretations given by the pagans, states that Fortune is characterized as blind because of the uncertainty of fortuitous happenings.[14]

Quaestionum in Heptateuchum.

Saint Augustine discusses the use of the word εὐτύχη, as it occurs in a scriptural text in the Greek language where it signifies good fortune. This has influenced some men to think that they should worship fortune, but he explains that the word simply refers to the things which happen by chance, and is not to be considered a divinity.[15]

Epistulae.

Augustine in a letter to Nebridius speaks of the vanity of either

adversante fortunae flatu, neque secundante moveatur, nisi eo illum fortuna ipsa, vel secunda, vel quasi adversa perducat: nihil pro te nobis aliud quam vota restant, quibus ab illo cui haec curae sunt Deo, si possumus, impetremus ut te tibi reddat; ita enim facile reddet et nobis; sinatque mentem illam tuam, quae respirationem iamdiu parturit, aliquando in auras verae libertatis emergere. Etenim fortasse quae vulgo fortuna nominatur, occulto quodam ordine regitur; nihilque aliud in rebus casum vocamus, nisi cuius ratio et causa secreta est (*Ibid.*): nihilque seu commodi seu incommodi contingit in parte, quod non conveniat et congruat universo. . . . *C. Acad.* 1, 1.

[13] . . . fortunae patrocinio propulsare se putant; quam tamen caecam effingere ac pingere consueverunt. . . . *Lib. Arb.* 3, 2, 5.

[14] . . . et Fortunam caecam, quod ex incerto accidant, quae fortuita dicuntur; . . . *C. Faust.* 20, 9

[15] . . . *Beata* vel *Felix facta sum* (*Gen.* XXX, 13) graeci habent, εὐτύχη, quod magis bonam fortunam significat. Vnde videtur occasio non bene intelligentibus dari tamquam illi homines fortunam coluerint, aut hoc verbum divinarum Scripturarum auctoritas in usu receperit. Sed aut fortuna intelligenda est pro his rebus quae fortuito videntur accidere, non quia numen aliquod sit, cum haec ipsa tamen quae fortuita videntur, causis occultis divinitus dentur: . . . *Quaest. Hept.* 1, 91.

fearing or desiring Fortune's favors.[16] The question of Fortune and Fate is treated carefully in a letter to Lampadius, who had shown that he was seriously disturbed over these points. Augustine gives practical examples from daily life in order to clear up his friend's difficulties.[17]

Conclusion (Fortune)

These references are for the most part merely incidental allusions to Fortune.

4. The Fates.

The Fates are mentioned in *Contra Faustum.*

Contra Faustum.

Augustine includes the Fates among the divinities whom the pagans interpreted according to the nature of things. The time which is past is represented by the thread spun and wound on the spindle; the present, by the thread which is passing through the fingers; the future, by the wool bound to the distaff—wool which will soon pass through the fingers to the spindle, thus signifying the passing of time through the present to the past.[18]

5. Hercules.

References to Hercules occur in *Contra Academicos, De Quantitate Animae, De Consensu Evangelistarum, De Vtilitate Ieiunii, Sermones,* and *Epistulae.* The majority of references are found in *Sermones.*

Contra Academicos.

A literary allusion is made to the strength of Hercules in a passage in which Augustine speaks of calling in the Cynics to combat a false principle.[19] In discussing the first principles of the philosophy of the Academics the reference to the suffocation of Cacus by Hercules is used figuratively to show that the exponent of a false principle will meet the same end when he issues forth from his retreat to propagate his doctrine to the unwary.[20]

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[16] . . . At si in potestate fortunae est, ut hominem amet homo, vide quam beatus sim, qui de fortuitis tam multum gaudeo, et talia bona, fateor, desidero mihi ubertim accrescere. Fortunae autem bona verissimi sapientes, quos solos beatos fas est vocari, nec timeri voluerunt, nec cupi, an cupiri, tu videris. . . . *Epist.* 3, 5.

[17] *Epist.* 246.

[18] . . . et tria Fata in colo et fuso digitisque filum ex lana torquentibus, propter tria tempora, praeteritum quod in fuso iam netum atque involutum est, praesens quod inter digitos mentis traicitur, futurum in lana, quae colo implicata est, quod adhuc per digitos nentis ad fusum, tamquam per praesens ad praeteritum traiciendum est; . . *C. Faust.* 20, 9.

De Quantitate Animae.

In answer to the inquiry of Evodius concerning the size of the soul, Augustine alludes to the traditional type of hero as represented by Hercules. He questions Evodius as to the terms in which he desires to know of the greatness of the soul, for if one were asked concerning the size of Hercules he would be expected to answer that his stature was so many feet.[21] In another passage he says that the moral greatness of Hercules should be considered in preference to his physical strength.[22]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Among the gods mentioned by Augustine as likely to interdict the worship of another is Hercules, who might be expected to interdict the worship of Juno, his persecutor.[23]

De Vtilitate Ieiunii.

In exhorting the Christians to a greater spirit of harmony and unity in their worship of the one true God, Augustine points to the apparent harmony which characterizes those who worship many gods, and adds that these gods in some cases are unfriendly to each other, as for example, Juno and Hercules. In spite of the enmity between these two divinities, temples are erected to both, and worshippers go to and fro worshipping them equally.[24]

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[19] . . . Non enim magnum negotium erit, contra communem pestem velut Herculea quaedam postulare auxilia Cynicorum. . . . *C. Acad.* 3, 8, 17.

[20] . . . Est enim latibulum tuum unde in incautos transire cupientes vehemens erumpis atque exilis: aliquis te Hercules in tua spelunca tamquam semihominem Cacum suffocabit, et eiusdem, molibus opprimet, docens aliquid esse in philosophia quod tamquam simile falso incertum abs te fieri non possit. . . . *C. Acad.* 3, 10, 22. See Verg. *Aen.* 8, 190 ff.

[21] E. Et hoc interim satis est: dic nunc quanta sit anima. A. Quomodo quaeris quanta sit? Non enim intelligo utrum eius quasi spatium latitudinis vel longitudinis, vel roboris, vel horum simul omnium requiras; an quantum valeat nosse velis. Solemus enim quaerere quantus fuerit Hercules, id est, in quot pedes statura eius porrecta fuerit. . . . *Quant. Anim.* 3, 4.

[22] . . . Sed de hac post loquemur, cum quaeremus quanta sit anima, sicut quaeri assolet, quantus fuerit Hercules, factorum excellentia, non mole membrorum: ita enim supra distribuimus. . . . *Quant. Anim.* 17, 30.

[23] . . . si ea ratione nec Saturnus Iovem coli prohibet, . . . saltem . . . Hercules Iunonem persecutricem suam. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 25, 38.

Sermones.

In commenting upon the scriptural text, *Deus, quis similis tibi?* (*Ps.* LXXXII, 4), Augustine states that the Christians do not read the title of God in stone, but they carry it in their hearts. He shows that man should not be compared to God, much less the image of Hercules whose deceitful title, "to the god Hercules", is freely read. The title is connected with a mute, insensible object. It accuses the writer and confounds the worshipper. It indicates the folly of men and it does not make the stone a god. It imposes the name of a god upon an image but it blots the name of the worshipper from the book of life.[25] After relating how the Roman gods have come to Carthage, Augustine alludes to an African statue of Hercules, who wished to have a gilded beard. He then corrects his statement and says that an insensate stone can have no feeling in the matter. He tells of a judge who did not wish the Christians to worship this statue but was willing that the beard of Hercules be removed. Augustine remarks that this was a greater insult to Hercules than to have his head cut off. He goes on to say that Hercules is wont to be called the god of strength, and all his strength is in his beard. He shone to his evil, because

[24] . . . Verbi gratia, commemoremus aliqua ipsorum, si cuncta non possumus: Hercules et Juno inimici fuerunt, homines enim fuerunt; privignus ille, noverca illa: utrique eorum Pagani templa fecerunt, et Iunoni et Herculi. Adorant illum adorant illam; pariter eunt ad Iunonem, pariter ad Herculem: illis sibi iratis, concordes sunt. . . . *Vtil. Ieiun.* 7, 9.

[25] . . . Et tamen cor hominis, cor christiani, qui non potest dicere, Homini deo; libenter legit, Herculi deo. Titulus non loquitur, sed vel legitur, Herculi deo. De quo dictum est? Ipse dicat de quo dictum. Vtrumque mutum, utrumque insensatum: supra mendacium, infra figmentum. Titulus accusans scriptorem, confundens adoratorem. Titulus non commendans lapidem deum, sed indicans hominem stultum. Titulus nomen dei imponens figmento, et nomen cultoris delens de libro viventium. Quam particulam sensus in se sentit?—*Serm.* 24, 3.

he did not shine with the light of the Lord but shone from wood.[26] Continuing his discourse on the power of God against error and His gentleness in bringing worshippers to His feet, Augustine refers to the conversion of Saint Paul and shows that they should place all their hope in the power of God. He explains that God permitted the strength of Hercules to be destroyed as a sign that He desires all to come under the yoke of Christ.[27]

Augustine refers to the spirit of Juno and the spirit of Hercules as divided against themselves, and states that they both belong to the kingdom of the devil.[28] Hercules appears among the number of pagan deities mentioned as men who were honored as gods after their death.[29] In a sermon on the martyrs reference is made to the insignificance of the strength of Hercules as compared with the faith of an aged Christian, tottering and infirm. The victory of Hercules over Cacus, over the lion, over Cerberus, is light in comparison with the victory of the martyr Fructuosus over the world. The tender maiden Agnes conquered the devil, who had deceived many concerning Hercules.[30]

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[26] . . . Qui aliquando dictus est deus Hercules, Romae iam non est. Hic autem etiam barba deaurata esse voluit. Erravi plane quia dixi, esse voluit. Quid enim vult insensatus lapis? Ille ergo nihil voluit, nihil potuit. Sed qui deaurari eum voluerunt, de raso erubuerunt. Suggestio itaque nescio quae novo iudici obrepsit. Quid egit? Non egit utique ut a christiano lapis honoraretur; sed ut christianus illi superstitioni ad radendum misceretur: non inclinavit ad obsequendum; sed movit ad vindicandum. Fratres, puto ignominiosius fuisse Herculi barbam radi, quam caput praecidi. Quod ergo positum est cum errore illorum, ablatum est cum dedecore illorum. Deus fortitudinis solet dici Hercules: tota virtus eius in barba. Malo suo refulsit; quod non fulgebat luce dominica, non a luce, sed a luco fulgebat.—*Serm.* 24, 6.

[27] *Serm.* 24, 7.

[28] . . . Apud idolorum cultores, spiritus Iunonis et spiritus Herculis divisi sunt adversum se; et ambo pertinent ad regnum diaboli. . . . *Serm.* 71, 2, 4.

[29] *Serm.* 273, 3, 3. For citation of this passage see page 21.

[30] . . . Contra unum infirmum et trementem omnibus membris senem christianum quid valet Hercules? Vicit Cacum, vicit Hercules leonem, vicit Hercules canem Cerberum: Vicit Fructuosus totum mundum. Compara virum viro. Agnes puella tredecim annorum vicit diabolum. Eum puella ista vicit, qui de Hercule multos decepit.—*Serm.* 273, 6, 6.

Epistulae.

In a letter (390) to Augustine, the pagan Maximus treated the name of the martyr Namphanio lightly. Knowing Maximus' admiration for Vergil, Saint Augustine in his reply alludes to the visit of Hercules to Evander as related in the eighth book of the Aeneid. He refers particularly to the invitation extended to Hercules by Evander to come to the rites in his honor *with auspicious foot.*

> Et nos et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo
> (Verg. *Aen.* 8, 302.)

In interpreting the name Namphanio as meaning *with good foot,* Augustine points out to Maximus that he should be displeased with Vergil for having used the same terminology which he has censured among Punic names.[31]

Letter 50 is an indignant protest over the massacre of sixty Christians during the violence attendant upon the destruction of a statue of Hercules. The letter is addressed to the magistrates of the colony of Suffectum, who had evidently demanded the restoration of the pagan god Hercules. Reference is made to the lack of respect on the part of the citizens for the laws of the Emperors, which must refer to the legislation against the public worship of idols, issued in 399. In regard to the loss of Hercules, Augustine ironically states that, with the help of artisans and a supply of metals, stone, and a variety of marble at hand, the loss will be made good. Every effort can be expended to hew, polish, and ornament a statue suitable for their rites. If this is not satisfactory, money can be collected for the purchase of a statue made by their own workmen. He adds that as Hercules is restored to them, they are requested to make restitution by giving back the lives lost through their violence.[32]

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[31] . . . Si vero et sonus nobis non rationabiliter displicet, et me bene interpretatum illud vocabulum recognoscis, habes quod succenseas Vergilio tuo, qui Herculum vestrum ad sacra, quae illi ab Evandro celebrantur, invitat hoc modo: . . . Secundo pede optat ut veniat. Ergo venire Herculem optat Namphanionem, de quo tu multum nobis insultare dignaris. . . . *Epist.* 17, 2.

[32] Auctoribus ac principibus vel senioribus Coloniae Suffectanae, Augustinus episcopus:

CONCLUSION (Hercules)

The allusions to Hercules indicate that his cult was active in the late fourth century. Letter 50 is a definite proof that his devotees were zealous and numerous. Frequent reference is made to his statues. Even though Juno and Hercules were not friendly to each other, no restriction seems to have been made as to worship given to both divinities at the same time. That Saint Augustine was familiar with the wanderings of Hercules in the ancient western world is evident from his reference to Vergil's treatment of these myths.

6. Venus.

Venus is referred to by Augustine in the *Confessions, De Ordine, Contra Faustum, Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum,* and *Epistulae.*

Confessions.

Recalling the attraction which the vanity of astrology had for him as a young man, Augustine refers to the advice given by astrologers who attempt to destroy the influence of such scriptural texts, as *Miserere mei; cura animam meam, quoniam peccavi tibi* (*Ps.* XL, 5); and *Ecce manus factus es: iam noli peccare, ne quid tibi deterius contingat* (*Ioan,* V, 14), when they say that the in-

Immanitatis vestrae famosissimum scelus, et inopinata crudelitas terram concutit, et percutit caelum, ut in plateis ac delubris vestris eluceat sanguis, et resonet homicidium. Apud vos Romanae sepultae sunt leges, iudiciorum rectorum calcatus est terror. Imperatorum certe nulla veneratio nec timor. Apud vos LX numero fratrum innocens effusus est sanguis, et si quis plures occidit, functus est laudibus, et in vestram curiam tenuit principatum. Age, nunc principalem veniamus ad causam. Si Herculem vestrum dixeritis, porro reddemus: adsunt metalla, saxa nec desunt; accedunt marmorum genera, suppetit artificum copia. Caeterum deus vester cum diligentia sculpitur, tornatur et ornatur. Addimus et rubricam quae pingit ruborem, quo possint vota vestra sacra sonare. Nam si vestrum Herculem dixeritis, collatis singulis nummis ab artifice vestro vobis emimus deum. Reddite igitur animas, quas manus vestra contorsit, et sicuti a nobis vester Hercules redhibetur, sic etiam a vobis tantorum animae reddantur.—*Epist.* 50.

For further account of these martyrs, see *Acta Sanctorum,* Augusti VI, 554.

evitable cause of sin is in heaven, and that Venus, Saturn, and Mars are responsible for the wrong done, thus freeing man from blame and indirectly referring it to the Creator and Ruler of the stars.[33] An allusion to Venus as one of the ancient Roman divinities is found in a Vergilian reference quoted by Saint Augustine in Book 8 of the *Confessions*.[34]

De Ordine.

A literary allusion to the beauty of Venus is found in *De Ordine,* where Augustine states that philosophy is more beautiful than Thisbe, Pyramus, or Venus.[35] To show the offense caused to the mind by the incongruity of representation, Augustine takes as a possible illustration that of Venus being furnished with wings and Cupid with a mantle.[36]

Contra Faustum.

Speaking of the various interpretations given to divinities by the pagans, Augustine relates that the natural connection between heat and pleasure accounts for Venus as the wife of Vulcan, and on the other hand the unnatural association of pleasure and war serves as an explanation of Venus as the mistress of Mars.[37]

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[33] . . . Quam totam illi salubritatem interficere conantur, cum dicunt: De caelo tibi est inevitabilis causa peccandi; et, Venus hoc fecit, aut Saturnus, aut Mars. Scilicet, ut homo sine culpa sit, caro et sanguis et superba putredo; culpandus sit autem caeli ac siderum creator et ordinator. . . . *Conf.* 4, 3, 4.

[34] *Conf.* 8, 2, 3. For citation of this passage see page 61.

[35] . . . Pulchrior est philosophia, fateor, quam Thisbe, quam Pyramus, quam illa Venus et Cupido, talesque omnimodi amores: . . . *Ord.* 1, 8, 21.

[36] . . . Sed histrione saltante, cum bene spectantibus gestus illi omnes signa sint rerum, quamvis membrorum numerosus quidam motus oculos eadem illa dimensione delectet, dicitur tamen rationabilis illa saltatio, quod bene aliquid significet et ostendat, excepta sensuum voluptate. Non enim, si pennatam Venerem faciat, et Cupidinem palliatum, quamvis id mira membrorum motione atque collocatione dipingat, oculos videtur offendere; sed per oculos animum, cui rerum signa illa monstrantur: nam oculi offenderentur, si non pulchre moveretur. . . . *Ord.* 2, 11, 34.

[37] . . . Habent quidem et illi quaedam fabulosa figmenta, sed esse illas fabulas norunt; et vel a poetis delectandi causa fictas esse asserunt, vel eas ad naturam rerum vel mores hominum interpretari conantur: . . . et Venerem Vulcani uxorem, quia ex calore voluptas naturaliter nascitur, et Martis adulteram, quia belligerantibus incongrua est; . . . *C. Faust.* 20, 9.

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

Venus is again mentioned in connection with astrology as governing the destinies of men, who in turn attribute their wrongdoing to the influence of Venus.[38] The same thought is expressed in the *Enarratio in Psalmum* 61, in which Augustine mentions an astrologer who used to say that one did not commit sin through one's own will, but Venus was the cause of the sin.[39] The hold which astrology had on the people is evident from the numerous references made to the belief in the guiding powers of the stars as responsible for man's conduct.[40] In keeping with the Neoplatonic idea of worshipping the object represented rather than the image, the pagans said that they worshipped Venus as the morning star.[41] In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 140, Augustine discusses the opinions not only of the unlearned but of the learned, who compute the stars and describe their courses and agree in their defense of sin by extolling Venus as an example. He refers to the case of an astrologer, who, contrary to what he teaches those who consult him, would not lessen the order in his own home, if his wife excused herself thus, saying: "*Si potes, Venerem caede, non me.*"[42]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

That Venus should have a star does not appear justifiable, if that honor is assigned to divinities highly esteemed for virtue.[43] An allusion is made to the voluptuous character of Venus, and also to the lack of regard for virtue among the divinities themselves, as shown by Diana's failure to interdict the worship of Venus.[44]

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[38] . . . At enim magni viri sunt, qui defendunt peccata sua: magni sunt et qui numerant sidera, et qui computant stellas et tempora et dicunt quis quando vel peccet vel bene vivat, et quando Mars faciat homicidam, et Venus adulteram: magni, docti viri, et electi videntur in hoc saeculo. *In Psalm.* 31, *Enarratio* II, 16.

[39] *In Psalm.* 61, 23.

[40] . . . Ego nihil mali feci, inquit: . . . quia Venus fecit; ego nihil feci, stellae fecerunt. Justificas te, accusas Deum qui fecit stellas, qui ornavit caelum. . . . *In Psalm.* 128, 9.

[41] Videntur autem sibi purgatioris esse religionis, qui dicunt: nec simulacrum, nec daemonium colo; sed effigiem corporalem eius rei signum intueor, quam colere debeo. Itaque interpretantur simulacra, ut alio dicant significari . . . alio luciferum, sicut Veneris. . . . *In Psalm.* 113, *Serm.* II, 4.

[42] *In Psalm.* 140, 9.

[43] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 32. For citation of passage see page 62.

Epistulae.

Maximus mentions Venus as one of the divinities whose worship he does not wish to see superseded by any honor paid to the memory of Sanae, a Christian martyr.[45] In Augustine's letter to Maximus he includes Bald Venus among the pagan divinities to whom the Roman idolaters erected temples and offered worship.[46] In a letter to Lampadius on Fate and Fortune, Augustine points out that the astrologers do not follow their own doctrines when it comes to the management of their own homes. For if the wife of an astrologer, reproved by her husband for some trifling undignified conduct, would say that Venus should be punished, since it is the influence of Venus which causes her to do wrong, the astrologer would not resort to the vain language by which he deceives the public, but would inflict just correction in keeping with his authority in the home.[47]

Conclusion (Venus)

That Venus was of the greatest importance in astrological practices is emphasized by the references made to her influence upon men of Augustine's time. He alludes to the inconsistency between the theory and practice of astrology, in the examples given of the astrologer who would not admit the evil influence of

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[44] . . . Quae ista inter eos est tam foeda consensio, ut nec Diana virgo casta coli prohibeat, non dicam Venerem, sed Priapum? . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 25, 38.

[45] . . . Quis enim ferat . . . Veneri . . . praeferri . . . Sanaem. . . . *Epist.* 16, 2.

[46] . . . Verumtamen si ridere delectat, habes apud vos magnam materiam facetiarum: . . . Venerem Calvam, . . . et caetera innumerabilia huiuscemodi quibus Romani antiqui simulacrorum cultores templa fecerunt, et colenda censuerunt. . . . *Epist.* 17, 2. See Roscher, *Lexikon*, 94-95te Lieferung 206, for reference to the worship of Venus Calva at an early date.

[47] . . . Quae tamen si ei dicat, Quid me caedis? Venerem caede si potes, a qua cogor hoc facere: tum vero ille non curat quam vana verba componat fallendis extraneis, sed quam iusta verbera imponat corrigendis suis. . . . *Epist.* 246, 2.

Venus as regards his own household. The allusions to Venus as the personification of Beauty and Pleasure are in keeping with the usual interpretations given to this divinity. Allusion is made to the Neoplatonic view that Venus is not worshipped under the form of an image, but as the morning star. There is an historical reference to the worship of Bald Venus.

C. DI NOVENSIDES OF GREEK ORIGIN.

1. Apollo.

References to Apollo are made in the *De Ordine* and *De Doctrina Christiana.*

De Ordine.

In *De Ordine,* after quoting some lines of Vergil in which Apollo is invoked, Augustine mentions the traditional attributes of Apollo, and then goes on to state that he does not have in mind this Apollo, but rather supreme Truth, Who has for His prophets all those who are wise.[1]

De Doctrina Christiana.

An incidental allusion to the temple of Apollo occurs in *De Doctrina Christiana,* where Augustine relates the origin of the legend of the nine muses. The original statues were made to be placed as an offering in the temple of Apollo.[2]

2. Ceres and Liber.

Ceres and Liber are alluded to in *Contra Faustum* and Liber alone in *Epistulae.*

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[1] . . . Hic ego multo uberius cernens abundare laetitias meas quam vel optare aliquando ausus sum, istum gestiens effudi:

Sic Pater ille deum faciat, sic altus Apollo,
Incipias: (*Aen.* 10, 875, 876).

perducet enim ipse, si sequimur quo nos ire iubet, atque ubi ponere sedem, qui dat mode augurium, nostrisque illabitur animis (*Aen.* 3, 88, 89). Nec enim altus Apollo est, qui in speluncis, in montibus, in nemoribus, nidore turis pecudumque calamitate concitatus implet insanos; sed alius profecto est, alius ille altus veridicus, atque ipsa (quid enim verbis ambiam?) Veritas: cuius vates sunt quicumque possunt esse sapientes. Ergo aggrediamur, Licenti, freti pietate cultores, et vestigiis nostris ignem perniciosum fumosarum cupiditatum opprimamus. *Ord.* 1, 4, 10.

[2] *Doctr. Christ.* 2, 17, 27. See page 10 for citation of this passage.

Contra Faustum.

In refuting Faustus, Augustine declares that there is no connection between the Sacrament of the Bread and Wine and the worship of the pagan deities Ceres and Liber, as some foolishly think.[3]

Epistulae.

Augustine calls the attention of Maximus to the fact that when he spoke of worshipping the gods in public, he neglected to mention the secret rites of Liber, which only the few who are initiated in the rites witness. Then he mentions the celebrations of Liber in which the leading men of the city go along the streets intoxicated and raging. If these men are deprived of their reason, Liber must be a strange god. If this madness is feigned, what is the purpose of keeping secret the rites of Liber? Why do the devotees not foretell future events, if Liber gives the gift of prophecy? If they are sane, why do they despoil the bystanders?[4]

CONCLUSION (Ceres and Liber)

The allusions to Ceres and Liber show that these divinities were worshipped in Augustine's time. The allusions are particularly important, as they bear witness to the manner of the worship of Liber.

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[3] . . . Quomodo ergo comparas panem et calicem nostrum, et parem religionem dicis errorem longe a veritate discretum; peius desipiens quam nonnulli, qui nos propter panem et calicem Cererem ac Liberum colere existimant? . . . Sicut enim a Cerere et Libero Paganorum diis longe absumus, quamvis panis et calicis sacramentum, quod ita laudastis, ut in eo nobis pares esse volueritis, nostro ritu amplectamur; . . . *C. Faust.* 20, 13.

[4] Quod autem dicis, eo nostris vestra sacra praeponi, quod vos publice colitis deos, nos autem secretioribus conventiculis utimur: primo illud abs te quaero, quomodo oblitus sis Liberum illum, quem paucorum sacratorum oculis committendum putatis. Deinde tu ipse iudicas nihil aliud te agere voluisse, cum publicam sacrorum vestrorum celebrationem commemorares, nisi ut nobis decuriones et primates civitatis per plateas vestrae urbis bacchantes ac furentes, ante oculos quasi spectacula poneremus: in qua celebritate, si numine inhabitamini, certe videtis quale illud sit quod adimit mentem. Si autem fingitis; quae sunt ista etiam in publico vestra secreta, vel quo pertinet tam turpe mendacium? deinde cur nulla futura canitis, si vates estis? aut cur spoliatis circumstantes, si sani estis? . . . *Epist.* 17, 4.

3. Mercury.

Allusions to Mercury occur in *De Doctrina Christiana, Enarrationes in Psalmos, In Iohannis Evangelium,* and *Sermones.* Of these writings, *Enarrationes in Psalmos* contain the greater number of references to Mercury.

De Doctrina Christiana.

That the good is to be chosen out of the various arts and utilized for a good purpose is emphasized by Augustine's reference to the use of letters. The discovery of letters is attributed by the pagans to Mercury, but that does not mean that one should refuse to learn them.[5]

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

Augustine exhorts the Christians to trust in God for their material needs, and not to seek them from idols, pagan divinities, and the powers of this world. There are some who, when they suffer hunger, forsake God and ask Mercury for temporal favors.[6] Reference is made to the demands of the persecutors that the Christians should worship Saturn and Mercury. Mercury is here referred to as an idol.[7] The champions of Mercury are mentioned as having led astray believers in the true God.[8]

In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 93, *Psalmus ipsi David, quarta sabbatorum,* Saint Augustine, in explaining what is meant by *quarta sabbatorum,* refers to the custom of calling the fourth day of the week Mercury's day. He prefers that the Christians should not use this pagan terminology since it is not universal, and, besides, they have a term of their own.[9] The name of Mercury was given to a star by the fancies of men who imagine unheard-of things concerning the stars.[10]

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[5] . . . Neque enim et litteras discere non debuimus, quia earum repertorem dicunt esse Mercurium: . . . *Doctr. Christ.* 2, 18, 28. See *Civ.* 7, 14.

[6] . . . quia si opus est carni pane, . . . a Deo petere debet, non a daemoniis, et idolis, et a nescio quibus potestatibus huius saeculi. Sunt enim qui, quando famem patiuntur in isto saeculo, dimittunt Deum et rogant Mercurium. . . . *In Psalm.* 62, 7.

[7] *In Psalm.* 34, 13. This passage is cited under treatment of Saturn. See page 48.

[8] *In Psalm.* 64, 6. For full discussion of this passage see page 11.

Allusion is made to the citizens of Lycaonia who wished to offer sacrifice to Paul and Barnabas, because they thought Paul was Mercury and Barnabas was Jupiter. Not wishing to be compared with pagan gods, they refused to permit the sacrifice to be offered.[11] The kingdom of Mercury is alluded to as having been broken and its place taken by the kingdom of Christ.[12]

In exhorting the Christians to place their hope in God as the Lord of all things, Augustine states that he who worships Mercury puts his entire hope in him as his lord and god.[13]

In Iohannis Evangelium.

Mercury is mentioned as a star which is bought as a master, as it were, from the astrologers by those who willingly pay money tc become the slaves of Mercury at the bidding of the astrologers whom they consult.[14]

Sermones.

Augustine makes a passing allusion to Mercury,[15] who is included by Augustine among the number of pagan deities who were once men.[16] Paul and Barnabas in Lycaonia are referred to in Sermon 273. Saint Paul's facility in speaking prompted the citizens to call him Mercury.[17]

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[9] . . . Quare ergo talem habet titulum, *in quarta sabbati?* Una sabbati, dies dominicus est; secunda sabbati, secunda feria, quem saeculares diem Lunae vocant; tertia sabbati, tertia feria, quem diem illi Martis vocant. Quarta ergo sabbatorum, quarta feria, qui Mercurii dies dicitur a Paganis, et a multis Christianis: sed nollemus; atque utinam corrigant, et non dicant sic. Habent enim linguam suam qua utantur. Non enim et in omnibus gentibus ista dicuntur: multae gentes aliae atque aliae aliter atque aliter vocant. Melius ergo de ore christiano ritus loquendi ecclesiasticus procedit. . . . *In Psalm.* 93, 3.

[10] *In Psalm.* 93, 5.

[11] *In Psalm.* 96, 12.

[12] *In Psalm.* 98, 14. This passage is cited and discussed more fully in the treatment of Saturn, page 49.

[13] . . . Ergo sit ipse spes tua, Dominus Deus tuus; in illo sit spes tua. In domino deo suo est spes etiam illius . . . qui colit Mercurium: . . . *In Psalm.* 145, 12.

[14] *In Evang. Ioh.* 8, 11. For citation of passage see page 18.

[15] . . . Non est, inquit, deus; quia genium est Carthaginis. Quasi si Mars aut Mercurius esset deus esset. . . . *Serm.* 62, 6, 10.

CONCLUSION (Mercury)

Mercury is mentioned as the inventor of letters and speech. Augustine comments on the custom of calling the fourth day of the week Mercury and advises the Christians not to follow it. He makes direct reference to the contemporary worship of Mercury, especially in connection with astrology.

4. Maia.

One reference to Maia occurs.

Contra Faustum.

Augustine notes that the pagans gave the names of their gods to the months. The third month of the Roman year, May, was named in honor of Maia, the mother of Mercury.[18]

5. Pluto—Dis pater.

Two references to Pluto occur, one in *De Consensu Evangelistarum* and one in *Sermones.* Both references pertain to Pluto considered as a man.

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Euhemerus includes Pluto among the pagan gods who were men.[19]

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[16] *Serm.* 273, 3, 3.

[17] . . . cives eiusdem regionis sive provinciae putaverunt deos descendisse ad homines, et crediderunt esse Barnabam Iovem. Paulum autem Mercurium, quia ipse erat in sermone promptissimus. . . . *Serm.* 273, 8, 8.

[18] . . . Inde tertium mensem Maium, quod Maiam Mercurii matrem deam colant. . . . *C. Faust.* 18, 5. Maia, the mother of Mercury, was identified with the early Roman goddess of a similar name, the wife of Vulcan.—Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, 304 ff.

[19] Sed numquid etiam ille Euhemerus poeta fuit, qui et ipsum Iovem et Saturnum patrem eius et Plutonem atque Neptunum fratres eius, ita planissime homines fuisse prodit, ut eorum cultores gratias magis poetis agere debeant, quia non ad eos dehonestandos, sed potius ad exornandos multa finxerunt? . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 32.

Sermones.

Augustine mentions several pagan divinities whom he considers as once men; among these he mentions Pluto.[20]

6. Hecate.

One reference to Hecate occurs.

Sermones.

In the discussion of the world-soul, Hecate is mentioned as an alternative name to be applied to the soul of the world.[21]

7. Cupid.

Allusions to Cupid occur in *De Ordine, Contra Faustum,* and *Contra Cresconium.*

De Ordine.

A literary allusion is made to Cupid when Augustine refers to the beauty of philosophy.[22] The exchange of the wings of Cupid with the cloak of Venus is given as an illustration of an incongruity which would displease the mind.[23]

Contra Faustum.

Among the interpretations of the pagan divinities contained in the fables is that of Cupid as a winged boy discharging arrows, symbolic of the wounds inflicted upon the hearts of unhappy men by a passionate and inconstant love. Augustine says the pagans worship the vices of divinities like Cupid as well as the virtues of Minerva. He quotes Seneca's statement that they imagined Love to be a god.[24]

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[20] . . . auditis Plutonem, Mercurium, Liberum et caeteros: homines fuerunt. . . . *Serm.* 273, 3, 3,

[21] . . . et ipsam animam mundi vocari Iovem, vel vocari Hecatem, id est, quasi animam universalem mundum regentem, et unum quoddam animal facientem. . . . *Serm.* 241, 7, 7.

The identification of Hecate with the world-soul is due to Neoplatonic syncretism and seems to be mentioned only here in Augustine and once in Porphry. See Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Hekate, VII, 2771.

[22] *Ord.* 1, 8, 21. For citation of passage see page 71.

[23] *Ord.* 2, 11, 34. See page 71.

[24] . . . vel eas (fabulas) ad naturam rerum vel mores hominum interpretari (pagani) conantur: . . . et Cupidinem puerum volitantem ac sagit-

Contra Cresconium.

When Augustine was explaining various points of Christian doctrine to Cresconius, he had occasion to remark that the Christians do not worship Cupid because there happen to be allusions in Holy Scripture to the wings[25] and arrows[26] of God.[27]

8. Sol and Luna.

The references noted for the worship of the sun and the moon are found in *Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum, Sermones* and *Epistulae.*

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

In explaining the text, *Sol non occidat super iracundiam vestram* (*Ephes.* IV, 26), Saint Augustine admonishes the people to drive anger out of their hearts before the visible light of the sun disappears, lest the invisible Light may abandon them; for our sun of justice is Christ the Truth, and not the sun which is adored by the pagans and Manichaeans.[28] Augustine states that the other nations were worshipping the sun, the moon, the stars, the sea, the mountains, or the trees at the time that the Jewish nation was worshipping the one true God.[29] That there are men who worship the sun is a matter of deep concern to Saint Augustine. He states

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tantem, quod irrationabilis et instabilis amor corda vulneret miserorum: . . . se . . . colere . . . nec solas virtutes . . . sed etiam vitia, sicut de Cupidine diximus. Vnde quidam eorum tragicus ait:

> Deum esse amorem, turpis et vitio favens
> Finxit libido. (Sen. *Hipp.* 194, 195) . . . *C. Faust.* 20, 9.

[25] *Ps.* XVI, 8; XXXV, 8.

[26] *Ps.* XVII, 15.

[27] *C. Cres.* 3, 89, 78.

[28] . . . Eice illam (iracundiam) de corde antequam occidat lux ista visibilis, ne te deserat lux illa invisibilis. Sed et aliter bene intelligitur, quia est noster sol iustitiae veritas Christus: non iste sol qui adoratur a Paganis et Manichaeis. . . . *In Psalm.* 25, *Enarratio* II, 3.

[29] . . . Fuit enim David rex in Iudaeorum gente; quae gens una colebat Deum unum, qui fecit caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in ipsis sunt, sive quae videntur, sive quae non videntur. Caeterae autem gentes, aut idola colebant quae manibus suis fecerant, aut creaturam Dei, non ipsum Creatorem, id est, aut solem, aut lunam, aut stellas, aut mare, aut montes, aut arbores. Haec enim omnia Deus fecit; et laudari se vult in illis, non illa coli pro se. . . . *In Psalm.* 62, 1.

that many who appear to honor the sun lie about the sun. So, too, those who say that Christ is the sun, lie about the sun. For the sun knows that Christ is his Lord and his Creator, and, if he could protest, he would resent being honored falsely more than being insulted. In a satirical turn, Augustine says that the heavenly bodies endure these falsehoods and are not moved.[30]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

In refuting the presumptuous opinions that the pagans hold concerning God, reference is made to the idea that God is the deity which presides over the elements. In view of that assertion, Augustine asks why He is not worshipped in preference to the sun, whose sphere is limited to the day only or to the entire heat of heaven, and why He is not given preference over the moon, who presides over the night only, or is resplendent through her control over moisture.[31]

Sermones.

An incidental allusion to the worship of the sun occurs in Sermon 197. When Augustine is speaking of images made by man, he says that he who makes an image of the sun turns the truth of God into a lie.[32]

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[30] . . . Quanti qui sibi videntur honorare solem, de illo mentiuntur? Qui dicunt, Christus est sol, mentiuntur de sole. Novit sol Dominum suum esse Christum et Creatorem suum. Et si indignari potest, acerbius indignatur contra falso honorantem, quam contra contumeliosum. Servo enim bono maior contumelia est iniuria Domini. Quanta falsa di ipsis luminaribus quidam dicunt? Et ferunt, tolerant, et non moventur. . . . *In Psalm.* 93, 5.

[31] . . . Sed quid opus est hinc diutius disputare, cum ad id quod ago sufficiat quod illi qualibet praesumptione opinantur de illo Deo, quem Deum esse negare non possunt? Si enim praepositus est elementorum, quibus mundus iste consistit, cur non potius solus ipse colitur, . . . quam Sol, qui solius diei, vel etiam universi caelestis caloris, quam Luna, quae solius noctis vel etiam humoris potestate praefulget. . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 29, 45.

[32] . . . Sic, Deus fecit solem: homo autem simulacrum solis faciendo, convertit veritatem Dei in mendacium. Sed ne dicant, Non colo simulacrum, sed solem colo ideo dixit, *Coluerunt creaturam potius quam Creatorem* (*Rom.* 1, 25).—*Serm.* 197, 1.

Epistulae.

There is an interesting allusion to contemporary worship of the sun in a letter to Publicola (398). Among the things which troubled Publicola was the use of the water taken from wells or fountains in a temple enclosure. Augustine explains that there can be no harm attached to doing so any more than to using the air, which receives the smoke of sacrifices; for on the same principle men would be precluded from the use of the light of sun because sacrifice is still offered to the sun where such sacrifice is permitted.[33]

CONCLUSION (Sol and Luna)

Contemporary worship of the sun and moon is evident from the citations which refer to the usual pagan sun-worship. The allusions to sun-worship as practiced by the Manichaeans have not been included in this study. The *Contra Faustum* contains the great majority of such references; a few incidental ones occur in *Sermones, De Haeresibus, Retractationes, De Genesi Contra Manichaeos,* and *De Moribus Manichaeorum.*

D. SACRA PEREGRINA.

It seems strange that in the works of Augustine under consideration there are so few references to the Oriental divinities. Only two outstanding divinities of this group are mentioned, and Augustine does not treat them at length.

1. Caelestis.

There are three allusions to Caelestis, contained in *Enarrationes in Psalmos,* and in *Sermones.*

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

In the discourse on Psalm 62, Augustine explains to the Christians that God is interested in both soul and body, and that, when in need of necessities for the body, the people should have recourse to God and not seek those things from pagan deities such as Caelestis.[1] Among the kingdoms which have given way for the kingdom of Christ is that of Caelestis, such as flourished at Carthage.[2]

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[33] . . . Sed eadem ratio est aeris, qui omnem eum fumum recipit, de quo supra diximus: aut si hoc putatur distare, quia illud sacrificium de quo fumus aeri confunditur; non fit ipsi aeri, sed idolo alicui vel daemonio, aliquando autem sic mittuntur sacrificia in aquas, ut ipsis aquis sacrificetur; non ideo utique solis huius luce non utimur, quia ei sacrilege ubi possunt sacrificare non cessant. . . . *Epist.* 47, 4.

Sermones.

Augustine states that Caelestis was overthrown in Carthage because she was terrestrial and not celestial.[3]

CONCLUSION (Caelestis)

That this well known African goddess, Caelestis, was not mentioned more often in these works of Augustine is surprising. It would seem that her rites were practically abandoned in the early fifth century. One allusion is made to those who seek her help in times of need. As was noted, Augustine, as a young man, attended the games in her honor.

2. Serapis.

That Serapis, the chief god of the Egyptians, is referred to only twice in these works seems worthy of comment.

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[1] Sunt enim qui, quando famem patiuntur in isto saeculo, dimittunt Deum, et rogant . . . quam dicunt Caelestem, aut aliqua daemonia similia: . . . *In Psalm.* 62, 7.

For Caelestis as an African cult see Toutain, *Cultes Païens dans l'Empire Romain*, III, 1, 29-37.

See *Civ.* 2, 4. Here Saint Augustine speaks of attending entertainments and spectacles in honor of Caelestis and Berecynthia (Cybele) when he was a young man. These rites consisted of games and were characterized by considerable religious excitement. In Section 26 of this same book, he mentions the games and obscene rites in honor of Caelestis and comments on the lack of any good instruction connected with the mysteries of Caelestis. He discusses Isis and Osiris principally from an historical point of view in *Civ.* 8, 26; 27; 10, 11; 18, 3; 37; 40.

[2] . . . Regnum Caelestis quale erat Carthagini! ubi nunc est regnum Caelestis? . . . *In Psalm.* 98, 14.

In 399, the temple of Caelestis at Carthage was changed into a church. See Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Caelestis, III, 1248.

[3] . . . Carthago in nomine Christi manet, et olim eversa est Caelestis, quia non fuit caelestis, sed terrestris.—*Serm.* 105, 9, 12.

De Divinatione Daemonum.

In this work, Augustine refers to the destruction of the temple of Serapis at Alexandria and to statements that this overthrow had been foretold by the demons.[4]

Further on in the same work, Augustine makes a reference to the demon Serapis having some power of prophecy.[5]

3. Atlas.

The allusions to Atlas are to the fifth being in the Manichaean system, who supports the world on his shoulders. His only connection with the ancient Atlas is in name. The allusions to this being are found in *Contra Faustum.*

Contra Faustum.

Atlas of the Manichaean system is mentioned as holding up the world in a manner resembling the ancient pagan divinity of the same name.[6] The giant Atlas of the Manichaeans is alluded to as assisting their World-holder with his task.[7]

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[4] Quodam die in diebus sanctis Octavarum, cum mane apud me adessent multi fratres laici Christiani, et in loco solito consedissemus, ortus est sermo de religione Christiana adversus praesumptionem et tamquam miram et magnam scientiam Paganorum; . . . cum ergo de divinatione daemonum quaereretur, et affirmaretur praedixisse nescio quem, eversionem templi Serapis, qua in Alexandria facta est; respondi, non esse mirandum si istam eversionem templi et simulacri sui imminere daemones, et scíre et praedicere potuerunt, sicut alia multa, quantum eis nosse et praenuntiare permittitur.—*Divin. Daem.* 1, 1. See *Civ.* 18, 5.

[5] . . . Quid ergo mirum, si iam imminente templorum aut simulacrorum eversione, quam Prophetae Dei summi tanto ante praedixerant, Serapis daemon alicui cultorum suorum hoc de proximo prodidit, ut suam quasi divinitatem recedens vel fugiens commendaret?—*Divin. Daem.* 6, 11.

[6] . . . Ostende nobis moechos tuos, splenditenentem ponderatorem, et Atlantem laturarium. . . . *C. Faust.* 15, 5. . . . Itane . . . vidisti . . . maximum Atlantem mundum ferentem humeris, et eum genu fixo brachiis utrinque secus fulcientem? . . . *C. Faust.* 15, 6.

For further material on Atlas, Splenditenens, etc. in the Manichaean system see Burkitt, *The Religion of the Manichees*, 28, 79.

[7] *C. Faust.* 20, 9.

4. Abaddires.

One reference to Abaddires is found in *Epistulae.*

Epistulae.

Among the pagan deities who, Augustine charges, are worshipped by Maximus and his friends is a certain divinity Abaddires. It is a name which Augustine thinks quite as unusual as the Punic martyrs' names which Maximus censured.[8]

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[8] . . . Si autem graves tibi videntur, miror quod nominum absurditate commoto, in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in sacerdotibus Eucaddires, et in numinibus Abaddires. . . . *Epist.* 17, 2.

This seems to be a Semitic divinity, so far as is known mentioned for the first time by Augustine in this passage. See Pauly-Wissowa, I, 10.

CHAPTER II

THE FORMS AND PLACES OF PAGAN WORSHIP

The forms of pagan worship which were current in Saint Augustine's time and which he particularly denounces are the persistent worship of pagan idols and the rites, customs, festivals, and games which constituted a part of the pagan religious observance. He gives most attention to the worship of idols which was carried out in some places, and particularly in Africa, with very little interference of those responsible for enforcement of the laws enacted against the public worship of idols. His frequent reference throughout his works to the character of idol worship and its baneful influence indicates very clearly the formidable problem which the early Church had to meet in combating paganism. Saint Augustine has very little to say about the special rites and ceremonies connected with individual deities, as performed at the time of their distinctive festivals. He refers only in most general terms to the sacrilegious and unprofitable rites attendant upon the worship of pagan divinities. It was difficult to get the recent converts to Christianity to refrain from certain traditional burial rites and from the observance of certain customs relative to the dead. Perhaps the one which they found most difficult to break away from was the custom of making offerings to the dead. Traces of this custom sometimes found their way into festivals in honor of the martyrs, and it was necessary to take measures to prevent such abuses. There are frequent admonitions against superstitious practices which affected the daily lives of the people of the fourth and fifth centuries. Astrology had reached its greatest development in this period and had a fascination for all classes of society. For the most part the references made to festivals, games, and places of worship are of a general character. As all these matters were quite familiar to his contemporaries, Augustine confined himself to a general attack on pagan worship in principle rather than in its details.

A. PAGAN IDOLS, RITES, AND CUSTOMS.

1. The Worship of Idols.

References to the worship of idols occur in the *Confessions, De Fide Rerum, Contra Faustum, Contra Epistulam Parmeniani, Contra Iulianum, Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum, In Iohannis Evangelium, Expositio ex Epistula ad Romanos, Epistulae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio, De Vtilitate Ieiunii, Sermones, Tractatus* (Morin), and *Epistulae.*

Confessions.

Victorinus is an interesting example of one who for the greater part of his life had been a worshipper of idols and a defender of the sacrilegious rites to which almost all of the Roman nobility were attached. Late in life he, who once had honored gods whom Rome had conquered and then worshipped, became a Christian.[1]

De Fide Rerum.

False gods have been given up; their images have been destroyed; many useless rites have been eradicated; the temples have been either overthrown or used for other purposes. This state of affairs should convince men that the Divine Light has shown on the human race, even if there were no testimonies concerning Christ and the Church.[2]

Contra Faustum.

An allusion to the nature of pagan worship is made in *Contra Faustum,* when Augustine says that the Manichaeans are worse than the pagans, and resemble them in worshipping many gods. They are worse because they worship things that have no existence, and the pagans worship things that are not gods.[3] Augustine chides the Manichaeans for considering themselves superior to the pagans who used temples, images, sacrifices, and incense in worshipping. He says it is more logical to erect an altar for the worship of a stone than to use a glowing imagination in worshipping things which have no existence.[4]

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[1] . . . usque ad illam aetatem venerator idolorum, sacrorumque sacrilegorum particeps, quibus tunc tota fere Romana nobilitas inflata inspirabat populo iam et omnigenum deum monstra. . . . et a se victis iam Roma supplicabat; quae iste senex Victorinus tot annos ore terricrepo defensitaverat: non erubuerit esse puer Christi tui, et infans fontis tui, subiecto collo ad humilitas iugum, et edomita fronte ad crucis opprobrium. . . . *Conf.* 8, 2, 3.

[2] . . . Quamquam etiam si de Christo et Ecclesia testimonia nulla praecederent, quem non movere deberet ut crederet, repente illuxisse divinam humano generi claritatem, quando videmus relictis diis falsis, et eorum confractis usquequaque simulacris, templis subversis, sive in usus alios commutatis, atque ab humana veternossissima consuetudine tot vanis ritibus exstirpatis, unum verum Deum ab omnibus invocari? . . . *Fid. Invis.* 7, 10.

Contra Epistulam Parmeniani.

In *Contra Epistulam Parmeniani,* Augustine speaks of the recent laws[5] which ordered that images be overturned and broken and that sacrifices be prohibited under penalty of capital punishment.[6]

Contra Iulianum.

That the practice of sacrificing to idols was common in Augustine's time is evident from his statement that the impiety of sacrificing to idols will remain until they are renounced and faith in the true God is accepted. When error is removed, then there will be no desire to sacrifice to idols.[7]

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

As to the extinction of the pagans and the breaking of their idols,

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[3] . . . Hinc vos Paganis dicimus deteriores, eo tantum similes, quod multos deos colitis: eo vero in peiorem partem dissimiles, quod illi pro diis ea colunt quae sunt, sed dii non sunt; vos autem colitis ea quae nec dii, nec aliquid sunt, quoniam prorsus nulla sunt. . . . *C. Faust,* 20, 9.

[4] Iam vero quod etiam inde vos Paganis vultis esse meliores, quod illi aris, delubris, simulacris, victimis atque incenso Deum colendum putant, vos autem nihil horum facitis, quis non irrideat? Quasi vero non satius sit vel lapidi, qui quoquo modo est, aram constituere, et victimam offerre, quam id quod omnino non est, in deliramento phantasmatis adorare? . . . *C. Faust.* 20, 15.

[5] *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 5, 35, (399); XVI, 5, 36, (399).

[6] . . . Nam utique et ipsi (pagani) falsa religione sunt impii, quorum simulacra everti atque confringi iussa sunt recentibus legibus, inhiber etiam sacrificia sub terrore capitali. . . . *C. Parm.* 1, 9, 15.

[7] . . . Hoc de sacrificio idolis oblato verissime dicis: actus est enim qu opere ipso peragitur, et non erit; et si iterum fit, alterum fit. Impieta vero ipsa qua haec fiunt, tamdiu manet, donec idolis renuntietur et credatu in Deum. . . . Sed errore sublato, quo illa impietas pietas putabatu numquid idolis aliquem sacrificare delectat, et in illo huiusmodi desideriu commovetur? . . . *C. Iul.* 6, 19, 61.

Augustine states that someone will wonder in what manner the pagans are killed. He answers that they are killed by becoming Christians. He says, "*Quaero paganum, non invenio; christianus est: ergo mortuus est paganus.*" [8]

In commenting upon the words of the Psalmist, *Pro his quae commutabuntur* (*Ps.* XLIV, 1), Augustine calls attention to the fact that many who worshipped idols are now adoring God, and that the pagans who remain see the temples deserted and the churches of God crowded. He desires that these pagans who wonder at the changed state of affairs should read the prophecies made by God, Who has fulfilled His promise.[9] Saint Augustine speaks of the worship of idols as having been common to nations outside of the Jewish nation. Since God created all these things He desires to be praised in them, but does not wish those created things to be worshipped. Therefore, these vanities of the pagans are being overturned and the people are becoming Christians.[10]

Preaching on the text, *Idola Gentium argentum et aurum,* (*Ps.* CXXXIV, 15), he asks why men make objects of silver and gold to be gods—a useless inquiry unless men were still engaged in this occupation. He goes on to say that the silversmith and goldsmith can give eyes, ears, nostrils, mouth, hands, and feet, but they cannot give sight, hearing, speech, sense of smell, or motion.[11]

On another occasion, Saint Augustine speaks of the idols as earthen and insensate.[12] With the text, *Israel, si me audieris, non erit in te deus recens* (*Ps.* CXIII, 4), as his basis, Saint Augustine explains that the God of the Christians is from all eternity, and that a new god is either a phantom or a stone. However, some one may say that his god is not of stone, but of silver or of gold. These gods are new ones, for nothing could be more new than a god from a workshop. Then he goes on to state that one would not worship a manufactured god unless he thought of a false god.[13] In his *Enarratio in Psalmum* 88, he says that no Christian can say that he is faithful to the Church of God and at the same time go to the idols and consults fortune-tellers. Then he speaks of a person who disclaims any connection with sorcerers, sacrilegious divination, the worship of idols, and the bowing to stones.[14]

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[8] *In Psalm.* 149, 13.

[9] . . . Et primo ipsum mundum videat commutatum; nuper adorantem idola, modo adorantem Deum; nuper servientem iis quae fecit, modo ei a quo factus est. . . . Modo iam residui Pagani mutata expavescunt: et qui nolunt mutari, vident refertas ecclesias, templa deserta; hac celebritatem, ibi solitudinem. Mirantur mutata, legant praedicta: aurem accommodent promissori, credant exhibitori. . . . *In Psalm.* 44, 2.

[10] . . . Certe videtis hoc, quomodo ubique evertantur vanitates Paganorum; videtis hoc, manifestum est vobis. . . . *In Psalm.* 62, 1.

[11] . . . Omnia ista artifex, faber argentarius, aurifex facere potuit, et oculos, et aures, et nares, et os, et manus, et pedes; sed nec lucem oculis, nec auditum auribus, nec vocem ori, nec sensum naribus, nec motum manibus, nec iter pedibus dare potuit.—*In Psalm.* 134, 23.

[12] *In Psalm.* 135, 3.

The change which has come over the worshippers of idols is noted. Augustine says those who formerly sought out the Christians and killed them for the sake of idols, now look for a place in which to hide their idols. Has not the Lord prevailed over them according to the words of Holy Scripture? (*Soph.* II, 11). The people confess the glory of Christ, and they who worship stones blush.[15] He expresses a somewhat similar thought in commenting upon the text, *Confundantur omnes qui adorant sculptilia* (*Ps.* XCVI, 7), when he states that the people have recognized the glory of the Lord, and they leave their temples and rush to the churches. Up to this time they sought to worship images; now they wish to desert their idols.[16] By frequent reference to the nature of the material out of which idols were made by men, Augustine tried to show how absurd it was for men to worship such objects. In another place he says, "Let the pagans make the gods which they wish; let them bring forth silversmiths, goldsmiths, polishers, sculptors; let them make gods".[17] In the destruction of idols, surely the prophecy of Jeremias (*Jer.* X, 11) is being fulfilled. Augustine thinks that it has already taken place in great part, and that the idols which remain in the niches of the temples are perhaps fewer than those which remain in the hearts of the pagans.[18]

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[13] . . . *In Psalm.* 80, 13-14.

[14] . . . Nemo dicat, ad idola quidem vado, arreptitios et sortilegos consulo: sed tamen Dei Ecclesiam non relinquo; . . . Alius item dicit, absit a me; non consulo sortilegum, non quaero arreptitium, non quaero divinationes sacrilegas, non eo ad adoranda daemonia, non servio lapidibus: . . . *In Psalm.* 88, *Serm.* II, 14.

[15] *In Psalm.* 134, 24.

[16] . . . . Hanc gloriam ipsius cognoverunt populi; dimittunt templa, currunt ad ecclesias. *Confundantur omnes qui adorant sculptilia.* Adhuc quaerunt adorare sculptilia? Noluerunt deserere idola; deserti sunt ab idolis. . . . *In Psalm.* 96, 11.

In discoursing upon Psalm 127, Augustine refers to the pagans who wish the God of the Christians to be shown to them. In the words of Holy Scripture, he encourages the Christians and tells them that their God will come and wipe away their tears and will nourish them for all eternity. (*Apoc.* XXI, 4).[19] He exhorts the Christians not to be led away by the vanity of the pagans who boast that their gods are visible; for the images which the pagans can show to them are bronze, wooden and earthen deities. Augustine abhors human vanity which draws men to the worship of such objects, and wonders that man, who is ashamed to worship a living beast, can worship an object without life and sense, an object which never had any life.[20] A passing reference is made to the nothingness of gods made by men.[21] He comments on how vain and impious are those who seek things from idols or from demons; for God gives all temporal things.[22] In discoursing upon the futility of worshipping images, Augustine exhorts those who worship stones to be ashamed. Stones are without life, objects always without life; therefore it is incorrect to speak of them as now dead. Some disputant will say that he does not worship a stone or image without sense but that he worships an invisible deity that watches over the image. This explanation is all the more dangerous, since he admits that he worships demons. Then Augustine says that these evil spirits delight in drawing men to destruction.[23] He declares that only malignant spirits, that exact proud sacrifice and wish to be worshipped as gods, are worshipped in the temples. Of like character are men who seek their own glory and despise the glory of God.[23a]

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[17] . . . Fingant sibi deos quos volunt Pagani; adducant fabros argentarios, aurifices, expolitores, sculptores, faciant deos. . . . *In Psalm.* 85, 12.

[18] . . . *Pereant de terra et de sub caelo* (*Ier.* X, 11), de templis suis. Videte si non fit, si non ex magna parte iam factum est: quid enim remansit, aut quantum remansit? Magis remanserunt idola in cordibus Paganorum, quam in locis templorum.—*In Psalm.* 98, 2.

[19] *In Psalm.* 127, *Serm.* (b) 10.

[20] *In Psalm.* 113, *Serm.* II, 1, 2.

[21] . . . Aut quales dii sunt quos facit homo? Quam ille magnus deos faciendo, tam isti nihil qui ab homine facti sunt. . . . *In Psalm.* 94, 6.

[22] . . . Quam vani sunt, quam impii, qui ab idolis, a daemonibus ista petunt! Quam multi a daemonibus ista petunt, et non illo habent? et rursus, qui illa non petunt a daemonibus, habent ea; sed non a daemonibus ista dantur. . . . *In Psalm.* 120, 9.

Augustine has given a vivid description of how images worked upon the imagination of the worshippers. After the image has been set up on a prominent elevation, it produces a love of error, and the crowd, imbued with the spirit of honoring and venerating the image, soon thinks that it is similar to a living body. Then influenced by the form and by the authority of those who have established the rites, they endow this figure with some hidden power. This propensity of men attracts evil spirits to possess the pagan images, and, by the varied deceit of those presiding over the rites, death-bringing errors are sown and multiplied. Therefore, Sacred Scripture ever watches lest anyone should say, when the images are laughed at, that an invisible power, and not the visible object, is worshipped.[23b]

[23] . . . Iam omnes populi gloriam Christi confitentur: erubescant qui adorant lapides. Quia lapides illi mortui erant, nos vivum lapidem invenimus: imo lapides illi numquam vixerunt, ut nec mortui dicantur; . . . Sed existit nescio quis disputator qui doctus sibi videbatur et ait: non ego illum lapidem colo, nec illud simulacrum quod est sine sensu; . . . non ego illud colo; sed adoro quod video, et servio ei quem non video. Quis est iste? Numen quoddam, inquit, invisibile quod praesidet illi simulacro. Hoc modo reddendo rationem de simulacris suis, diserti sibi videntur, quia non colunt idola, et colunt daemonia. . . . *In Psalm.* 96, 11.

[23a] . . . Ego dico quia in templis tuis non coluntur nisi spiritus maligni: qui sibi exigunt superbe sacrificium, et volunt se coli tamquam deos, maligni sunt, superbi sunt. Tales sunt etiam homines non boni, qui suam gloriam quaerunt, et Dei gloriam contemnunt. . . . *In Psalm.* 96, 12.

[23b] . . . ut illi asserunt, in signum aliquod fabrefacta atque eminenti collocata suggestu, cum adorari atque honorari a multitudine coeperit, parit in unoquoque sordidissimum erroris affectum, ut quoniam in illo figmento non invenit vitalem motum, credat numen occultum; effigiem tamen viventi corpori similem, seductus forma et commotus auctoritate quasi sapientium institutorum obsequentiumque turbarum, sine vivo aliquo habitatore esse non putat? Hinc et mala daemonia ad possidenda Gentium simulacra talis hominum affectus invitat, quorum praesidentium varia fallacia mortifer

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Augustine states that the idols of the nations are everywhere being destroyed, and that this is accomplished by the power of the Gospel of Christ, the God of Israel.[24] Later in the same discourse he remarks that the pagans complain in vain that the Christians are destroying the pagan idols, for all of this is being done in accordance with the prophecy of Jeremias (*Jer.* XVI, 19).[25]

In an exhortation to the idolaters who still worship idols, Augustine states that questions now arise as to where men withdraw to offer sacrifice, in order to prevent their gods from being found and broken into pieces by the Christians. Their course of action results from their fear of laws and rulers—rulers who are now subject to the name of Christ. This is in accord with the promise made long ago, "And all kings of the earth shall adore him: all nations shall serve him" (*Ps.* LXXI, 11).[26] The followers of Christ, true to His teaching, have forbidden the worship of the pagan gods in order to prevent men from supplicating insensible images or from associating in any way with demons, and to teach them to worship the Creator instead of a creature.[27]

In Iohannis Evangelium.

It is evident that the faith of the Christians was often sorely tried by the pagan worship of visible divinities. To offset this, Augustine gives a pointed illustration to show the beauty of faith. The pagans boast that their gods are visible, saying: "Behold our gods; where is your God?" He goes on to say that they show

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seminantur et multiplicantur errores. Aliis itaque locis et contra ista divinae Litterae vigilant, ne quisquam dicat, cum irrisa fuerint simulacra: Non hoc visibile colo, sed numen quod illic invisibiliter habitat. . . . *In Psalm.* 113, *Serm.* II, 3.

[24] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 14, 21.

[25] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 26, 40-41.

[26] . . . Nunc certe quaerunt, ubi se abscondant, cum sacrificare volunt, vel ubi deos ipsos suos recludant, ne a Christianis inveniantur atque frangantur. Vnde hoc, nisi a timore legum atque regum, per quos Deus Israel suam exserit potestatem, iam subditos Christi nomini, sicut longe ante promisit, dicens per prophetam: *Et adorabunt eum omnes reges terrae, omnes gentes servient illi?* (*Ps.* LXXI, 11.)—*Cons. Evang.* 1, 27, 42.

[27] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 34, 52.

what is seen, and that the Christians worship what is not seen. When the Christians wish to show Whom they worship, they must remember that they are treating with those who as yet have not the gift of faith. Then he encourages the Christians by telling them that they see God by the eyes of faith, and the pagans see their gods with bodily eyes.[28]

Expositio ex Epistula ad Romanos.

An historical reference to the sale of flesh and wine for purposes of sacrifice to images is made in the exposition of the words of Saint Paul to the Romans, *Infirmum autem in fide recipite, non in diiudicationibus cogitationum* (*Rom.* XIV, 1). Augustine exhorts those firm in their faith to help those who are weaker. He comments on the fact that, in the time of Saint Paul, even some who were as yet weak in the faith abstained from flesh and wine lest they come in contact with the flesh and wine used in sacrifice to idols. At that time the flesh for sacrifice was sold in the shops; and, from the first offerings of wine, the pagans poured libations in honor of images.[29]

Epistulae ad Romanos Inchoata Expositio.

A passing reference is made to the continued worship of images even though that form of worship was prohibited by law.[30]

De Vtilitate Ieiunii.

In making a plea for Christian unity and in pointing out the necessity of good example on the part of the Christians, Augustine observes that the pagans have deserted their gods, are still deserting them, and are even destroying the temples of the gods in their hearts. He makes mention of the desertion of sacrilegious rites, the overthrow of temples, the breaking of idols, and the prohibition of sacrifices.[31]

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[28] . . . Tamquam Pagani dicant: Ecce dii nostri; Deus vester ubi est? Ostendunt enim illi quod videtur; nos colimus quod non videtur. Et cui ostendamus? homini qui non habet unde videat? Nam utique si ipsi deos suos vident oculis; habemus et nos alios oculos, unde videamus Deum nostrum. . . . *In Evang. Ioh.* 20, 11.

[29] . . . quidam vero infirmiores abstinebant a carnibus et a vino, ne vel nescientes inciderent in ea quae idolis sacrificabantur. Omnis enim tunc immolatitia caro in macello vendebatur, et de primitiis vini libabant Gentes simulacris suis, et quaedam in ipsis torcularibus sacrificia faciebant. . . . *In Rom.* 78.

[30] . . . Nam et Pagani qui appellantur, etiam nunc totam nostram religionem, quia iam ferro et caedibus prohibentur, maledictis contumeliisque insectantur: . . . Nam neque de ipso Deo Patre digna sentiunt, quem partim penitus negant, partim sic fatentur, ut de illo falsa fingendo, non utique illum, sed sua figmenta venerentur. . . . *In Rom. Imperf.* 15.

Sermones.

Instructing the people as to the voice of the true Shepherd, Augustine states that the voice of the Donatists is not the voice of the Shepherd, and furthermore, that they offer incense to idols.[32] Commenting on the words of Saint Paul to the Corinthians (I *Cor.* VIII, 10, 11), as to sitting at meat in an idol's temple, Augustine shows the need of good example for those who are weak in the faith and for the pagans. Some one will say that one doing this does not believe in idols, and that God knows what is in his heart. This is true, but one's heart is not known to his brother. The pagans cannot see why they should give up their gods whom, they say in their hearts, the Christian themselves worship as they do. In answer some Christian will say, "Far be it from me to worship the gods of the pagans. I know, I understand, and I believe." But Augustine says that the Christians who give bad example are stumbling blocks in the way of those who wish to become Christians.[33] The Christians are not to fear the worshippers of pagan idols, who say that the Christians are enemies of their idols. Many pagans have altars, sacred groves, and images on their own estates. Augustine says that before these objects are destroyed, the idols in their hearts ought to be destroyed. Furthermore, unless authority is given, it is not permissible for one to destroy these objects on another's estate. Augustine refers to the laws against the heathen forms of worship. As for idols, they are seen everywhere and they are not broken, because the power to destroy them has not been given to the Christians. He speaks of a man who had lately been received into the Church, upon whose estate there were idols which he, as yet, had not given orders to have destroyed. It is a matter of keen regret to Saint Augustine that this man could not return thanks to God upon his estate without at the same time having objects present which dishonor God.[34]

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[31] Ergo, carissimi, illi quidem tales deos habent, vel potius habuerunt. Quia enim ipsi eos deserere noluerunt, ab eis deserti sunt. Et multi deseruerunt eos, et adhuc deserunt, deiciunt templa eorum, in cordibus suis: sed gaudeamus de illis, quia veniunt ad unitatem, non ad divisionem. Non inveniat paganus occasionem qua nolit esse Christianus. . . . At vero cum desereretur, et multi ad unum Deum concurrerent, eius sacrilega sacramenta desererent, templa everterent, idola frangerent, sacrificia prohiberent; vidit se perdidisse quos tenebat, vidit a sua familia recessisse, verum Deum cognovisse: quid faceret? quomodo insidiaretur? Concordes nos scit quod possidere non possit, unum Deum nobis dividere non potest, falsos deos nobis supponere non potest; . . . lites immisit inter Christianos, quia multos deos non potuit fabricare Christianis; . . . *Vtil. Ieiun.* 8, 10.

[32] *Serm.* 46, 14, 32; 33.

[33] . . . Paganos reliquos colligi volumus, lapides estis in via; venire volentes offendunt, et redeunt. Dicunt enim in cordibus suis: Quare nos relinquamus deos, quos Christiani ipsi nobiscum colunt? Absit, a me, inquit, ut ego deos Gentium colam. . . . *Serm.* 62, 6, 9.

Saint Augustine realized that the Romans did not like to hear his refutations of their complaints against the Christians to the effect that the destruction of Rome was brought about by Christianity, for he says he has heard, "*Sed non dicat de Roma, O si taceat de Roma.*" He explains that his is not an attitude of attack but rather of kindly interest. He cannot let the charge pass that Christ was Rome's destroyer, and that the gods of wood and stone were her defenders. He asks why the gods, the guardians of the city of Rome, perished, if they had the power attributed to them by the Romans to preserve the city. Some say that Rome perished at the same time; others say that the gods did not perish but that their statues perished. Gods who could not protect their own statues could scarcely protect the houses of Rome. Furthermore, he states that Rome did not perish as soon as she lost her gods.[35] In another sermon he speaks of the thought which is probably uppermost in the minds of many to the effect that Rome has been afflicted and burned in Christian times. To the Christian accosted by a pagan who charges this calamity to Christian times and to the prohibition of sacrifice to the pagan gods, Augustine suggests that he should prove from an historical point of view that Rome suffered similar calamities even when sacrifice was offered to her pagan gods; for example, Rome was burned by the Gauls, and again in the time of Nero, who was a worshipper of idols.[36] Then he goes on to show that the pagan has lost merely temporal things, but has not yet found the eternal. He tells the Christian to show the pagan that the gods did not save Rome, because they are not gods.[37] From the words of Augustine in Sermon 141, it would seem that some of the Christians easily lapsed into the worship of idols, for he tells them that they have found God and yet they worship an idol. They know the works of God, but

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[34] Verbis ipsorum ne credatis, nec timeatis. Hostes nos dicunt idolorum suorum. . . . Multi pagani habent istas abominationes in fundis suis: numquid accedimus, et confringimus? . . . *Serm.* 62, 11, 17. . . . Rursus quia contra Paganos placuit ut leges ferrentur, imo pro Paganis, si sapiant. . . . *Serm.* 62, 12, 18.

[35] . . . Quid ergo dico, cum de illa non taceo, nisi quia falsum est quod dicunt de Christo nostro, quod ipse Romam perdiderit, quod dii lapidei Romam tuebantur et lignei? Adde pretium, aerei. Adde plus, argentei et aurei: . . . Ecce qualibus Romam docti homines custodibus commiserunt, habentibus oculos, et non videntibus. Aut si Romam servare potuerunt,

quare ipsi ante perierunt? Inquiunt: Tunc periit Roma. Tamen perierunt. Non, inquiunt, ipsi perierunt, sed simulacra eorum. Quomodo ergo custodirent tecta vestra, qui non potuerunt custodire simulacra sua? . . . *Serm.* 105, 9, 12.

[36] . . . Iam video quid dicas in corde tuo: Ecce temporibus christianis Roma afflicta est, et incensa est. Quare temporibus christianis? Quis hoc dicit? Christianus? Ergo tu tibi responde, si christianus es: Quando voluit Deus. Sed quid dico pagano? insultat mihi. Quid tibi dicit? unde tibi insultat? Ecce quando faciebamus sacrificia diis nostris, stabat Roma, florebat Roma; modo quia superavit et abundavit sacrificium Dei vestri, et inhibita sunt et prohibita sacrificia deorum nostrorum, ecce quid patitur Roma. Breviter responde interim. . . . Tam huic amatori carnalis felicitatis, et murmuratori adversus Deum vivum et verum, volenti servire daemoniis et lignis et lapidibus, cito responde. Sicut habet historia eorum, incendium hoc Romanae urbis tertium est. Sicut habet historia eorum, sicut habent litterae ipsorum, incendium Romanae urbis, quod modo contigit, tertium est. Quae modo semel arsit, inter sacrificia Christianorum, iam bis arserat inter sacrificia Paganorum. Semel a Gallis sic incensa est, ut salus collis Capitolinus remaneret. Postea a Nerone, nescio utrum dicam saeviente an fluente, secundo igne Roma flagravit. Iussit Nero imperator ipsius Romae, servus idolorum interfector Apostolorum, iussit, et incensa est Roma. . . . *Serm.* 296, 6, 7.

[37] . . . Tu quisquis paganus es, habes quod plangas; quia temporalia perdidisti, et aeterna nondum invenisti. . . . Dicis itaque, o pagane: Dii praesides Romam modo non servaverunt, quia non sunt. . . . *Serm.* 296, 7, 8.

through the works of man they perish. He calls their attention to the fact that God made the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all the elements. The universe is the work of God; an idol is the work of a carpenter. If the carpenter had the power to give the idol a heart, the carpenter would be worshipped by the idol itself; that is, the idol would worship him who made it.[38] To show to what extremes men went as regards the making of idols, Augustine states that they went beyond the words of Saint Paul (*Rom.* I, 23), and they have made gods for themselves out of all mute and irrational animals. He says that censure was given by him when they used to worship an image of a man; he wonders what measures to use when they worship an image of a dog, of a snake, of a crocodile; for they have even come to this. Just as in seeking they have been carried aloft, so in falling they are plunged into the depths.[39] There is a reference to the days of Saint Paul, when the Christians were fearful of purchasing flesh in the shops, lest some of it had been used in the sacrifices to idols.[40] In answer to the persecutor who insisted that the Christians sacrifice to the idols, they said that they offered sacrifice to the eternal God in heaven, and not victims to demons.[41]

In Sermon 328, Augustine refers to the destruction of the temples and the breaking of the idols. Then he goes on to say that the

[38] . . . Invenisti Deum, et colis idolum. Invenisti veritatem, et ipsam veritatem in iniustitia detines. Et quod per Dei opera cognovisti, per opera hominis perdis. Totum considerasti; caeli, terrae, maris, elementorumque omnium ordinem collegisti: istud non vis attendere, quod mundus opus est Dei, idolum opus est fabri. Si faber idolo, sicut dedit figuram, daret et cor; ab ipso idolo faber adoraretur. Quomodo enim, o homo, faber tuus Deus est, sic homo idoli faber est. Quis est Deus tuus? Qui te fecit. Quis est Deus fabri? Qui illum fecit. Quis est Deus idoli? Qui fecit illud. Ergo si idolum cor haberet, nonne fabrum adoraret qui illud fecit? Ecce in qua iniquitate veritatem tenuerunt, et ad possessionem illam quam viderunt, viam perducentem non invenerunt.—*Serm.* 141, 3, 3.

[39] . . . Omnia quippe ista muta animalia et irrationabilia, illi quasi magni sapientes, deos sibi fecerunt. Reprehendebam, quando adorabas imaginem hominis: quid tibi faciam, quando adoras imaginem canis, imaginem colubri, imaginem crocodili? Pervenerunt usque ad ista. Quantum quaerentes in superna evecti sunt, tantum cadentes in profunda demersi sunt. Altius enim mergitur, quod de alto cadit.—*Serm.* 241, 3, 3.

[40] *Serm.* 149, 3.

[41] *Serm.* 326, 2.

things which are now seen—namely, the preaching of the name of Christ throughout all nations, men turning to one God, idols abandoned, demons forsaken, temples destroyed, images broken—were prophesied long ago; and now they have come to pass.[42]

Tractatus (Morin).

Augustine refers to Cyprian's *Quod idola dii non sint,* in his sermon, *De natale sancti Cypriani,* and states that Cyprian did not hesitate to say that idols were not gods, nor did he fear the worshippers of pagan divinities.[43] In another sermon, an incidental allusion is made to the attestation of secular literature to the most vain and pernicious worship of idols.[44]

In *De natale sancti Iohannis Baptistae,* Augustine, commenting on the goodness and wisdom of God, says: "*Quicquid enim nobiscum Deus agit, scienter agit:*" and says that God has liberated us from idols, from the servitude of demons, and all such profane things.[45]

Epistulae.

In a letter to Vincentius in 408, Augustine makes a passing reference to the laws issued by the emperor against pagan sacrifice.[46]

[42] . . . Et verum est, quoniam ista quae modo videmus, non erant quando futura dicebantur. Quod videtis modo praedicari nomen Christi per omnes gentes, converti homines ad unum Deum, dimitti idola, dimitti daemonia, everti templa, frangi simulacra; omnia ista nondum erant, tamen dicebantur, et modo videntur. In quibus ergo Litteris scripta sunt ista, quae iam videmus. . . . *Serm.* 328, 5, 5.

[43] . . . Nam et beatus Cyprianus inter persecutores et gentiles vitam agens, cum esset inter idolorum cultores, potestatem imperii temporalis non timuit, neque tacuit quod idola dii non erant. . . . non timuit daemonum adoratores. . . . *Tract.* 28 (Morin), *De natale sancti Cypriani,* III, page 116.

[44] . . . idolorum vanissimum et perniciosissimum cultum etiam litterarum saecularium attestatione convicit. . . . *Tract.* 26 (Morin), *De natale sancti Cypriani,* I, page 103.

[45] . . . Convocavit (Deus) nos, et recolite unde. Liberavit ab idolis, liberavit a servitute demoniorum, a tantis sacrilegiis. . . . *Tract.* 22 (Morin), *De natale sancti Iohannis Baptistae,* page 84.

[46] . . . Quis enim nostrum, quis vestrum non laudat leges ab imperatoribus datas adversus sacrificia Paganorum? Et certe longe ibi poena severior constituta est; illius quippe impietatis capitale supplicium est. De vobis autem corripiendis atque coercendis habita ratio est, quo potius admonere-

In the same letter he refers to idolatry as practiced by Julian.[47]

That considerable trouble arose between the pagans and the Christians as to the full force of the laws concerning the destruction of idols is shown by a letter (408) of Augustine to Olympius.[48] In this letter the latter is urged to be of assistance to the Church in bringing to the notice of her enemies the fact that the laws concerning the demolition of idols were made at the desire of the emperor. He states that there are some who think that this was done without his knowledge, or against his will, and through this the people are incited to violence and enmity against the Christians.[49] Augustine also mentions the inconvenience which some of his own colleagues have experienced in going to Italy to present their difficulties at the Imperial Court. In writing to Olympius, he feels that he is acting agreeably to all bishops in northern Africa. In this letter Augustine does not go into detail about the calamities which have befallen the Christians, concerning which the bishops have gone to Rome; but he refers to the riot at Calama, which will be treated at greater length in the discussion of pagan festivals. A second time he urges Olympius to make it clear to the enemies of the Church that the laws which have been promulgated for the defense of the Church were made by the son of Theodosius and not

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mini ab errore discedere, quam pro scelere puniremini. . . . *Epist.* 93, 3, 10.

[47] . . . sed tamen nondum ab eis separati eratis, quando Iuliano imperatori in sua petitione dixerunt, quod *apud eum sola iustitia locum haberet;* quem certe apostatam noverant, et idololatriis deditum sic videbant, ut aut iustitiam esse idololatriam faterentur . . . apud quem magnum locum cernerent habere idololatriam. . . . *Epist.* 93, 4, 12.

[48] For an account of Olympius, see Smith and Wace, s. v. Olympius (10), IV, 77-78.

[49] . . . non potui praetermittere per hunc fratrem et compresbyterum meum . . . et salutare et admonere caritatem tuam quam habes in Christo Iesu Domino nostro, ut opus tuum bonum diligentissima acceleretur instantia, quo noverint inimici Ecclesiae leges illas, quae de idolis confringendis et haereticis corrigendis vivo Stilichone in Africam missae sunt, ex voluntate Imperatoris piissimi et fidelissimi constitutas; quo nesciente vel nolente factum sive dolose iactant, sive libenter putant, atque hinc animos imperitorum turbulentissimos reddunt, nobisque periculose ac vehementer infestos.—*Epist.* 97, 2.

by Stilicho.[50] He tells Olympius that he is happy over the numbers who have been converted to Christianity by means of these laws, but he adds that there is considerable to be endured from those who are still perverse and obstinate in their enmity against the Christians.[51]

Writing to Nectarius (409), Augustine speaks of the silver idols of false gods constructed by the pagans. He thinks that it was in the interest of either protecting or worshipping these that the pagans attempted to burn the church at Calama, when the people were despoiled of their property and much blood was shed.[52]

Augustine recalls that in the days before the worship of idols was prohibited by laws great crowds of people used to come to the solemn celebrations of the pagans, not to break their idols but to be killed by the worshippers of idols.[53]

In answer to a letter from the people of Madaura, in which he was addressed by them as Father and saluted in the name of the Lord, Augustine expresses regret over their superstitious veneration of idols, against which, he says, the temples are more easily closed than their hearts. Perhaps it is more true to say that the idols are not more shut up in the temples than in their hearts. He goes on to say that at first glance at the title, when he saw that he was saluted in the name of the Lord, he had hoped that they had been converted to the Lord and eternal salvation, but upon inquiry of the bearer of the letter as to whether they were Christians or desirous of becoming Christians, he found that they were in no way changed.[54] He asks what has been an obstacle to prevent their becoming Christians. Then he reminds them that all is happening according to the prophecies of Sacred Scripture.[55] Thus the temples of the idols are falling into ruin through neglect; some have been overthrown, some are closed, and some are serving other purposes. The idols themselves have met various fates; they are either broken to pieces, burned, shut up, or destroyed. Those who in defense of idols persecuted the Christians, now, vanquished and subdued by the Christians who died for their Faith, are directing their laws against idols. Indeed, the supreme authority of the most glorious Empire, laying aside his diadem, prays at the tomb of the fisherman Peter.[56] At the close of his letter, Saint Augustine takes occasion to address the people of Madaura as his *fratres*, and *parentes mei Madaurenses*,[57] and to tell them that he is grateful for the opportunity to say something about Christ to the worshippers of idols. He hopes that what he has written to them will not have been written in vain, but that the one true God may deliver them from the vanity of this world.[58]

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[50] Hoc autem quod petendo vel suggerendo admoneo praestantiam tuam, non dubito omnium per Africam collegarum meorum fieri voluntate; arbitrorque quacumque primitus exorta occasione facillime posse ac debere maturari, ut noverint, sicut dixi, homines vani, quorum et adversantium salutem requirimus, leges quae pro Christi Ecclesia missae sunt, magis Theodosii filium quam Stilichonem curasse mittendas. . . . *Epist.* 97, 3.

[51] *Epist.* 97, 4.

[52] . . . Tertium vero quod habent unde male vivunt, id est, ut nihil aliud dicam, certe unde falsorum deorum argentea fabricavere simulacra, pro quibus vel servandis, vel adorandis, vel sacrilego ritu adhuc colendis, usque ad ecclesiae Dei prosiliatur incendium, et religiosissimorum pauperum sustentacula infelici vulgo diripienda praebeantur, sanguisque fundatur, tu qui tuae consulis civitati, quare metuis resecari, ne omnimodo impunitate perniciosa nutriatur et roboretur audacia? . . . *Epist.* 104, 2, 5.

[53] . . . Qui autem sciunt et ante ipsas leges quid facere soleant, non eorum mirantur mortes, sed recordantur mores; maxime quando adhuc cultus fuerat idolorum, ad Paganorum celeberrimas solemnitates ingentia turbarum agmina veniebant, non ut idola frangerent, sed ut interficerentur a cultoribus idolorum. . . . *Epist.* 185, 3, 12.

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[54] . . . miror quod *patri*, et *in Domino salutem* scripsistis; quorum mihi superstitiosus cultus idolorum, contra quae idola facilius templa vestra quam corda clauduntur, vel potius quae idola non magis in templis quam in vestris cordibus includuntur, cum magno est dolore notissimus: nisi forte iam de salute ipsa, quae in Domino est, per quem me salutare voluistis, tandem prudenti consideratione cogitatis. . . . *Epist.* 232, 1, 2.

[55] . . . omnia etiam quae nos videmus, et posteris tradimus, quae tamen pertinent ad veram religionem quaerendam et tenendam, divina Scriptura non tacuit; sed ita omnino cuncta transeunt, ut transitura esse praedicta sunt. . . . *Epist.* 232, 3.

[56] Videtis certe simulacrorum templa partim sine reparatione collapsa, partim diruta, partim clausa, partim in usus alios commutata; ipsaque simulacra vel confringi, vel incendi, vel includi, vel destrui: atque ipsas huius saeculi potestates, quae aliquando pro simulacris populum christianum persequebantur, victas et domitas, non a repugnantibus, sed a morientibus Christianis, et contra eadem simulacra pro quibus Christianos occidebant, impetus suos legesque vertisse, et imperii nobilissimi eminentissimum culmen ad sepulcrum piscatoris Petri, submisso diademate, supplicare.—*Epist.* 232, 3.

[57] Augustine as a boy had studied at Madaura, which was not far distant from Tagaste, his birthplace.

Conclusion (The Worship of Idols)

That the worship of idols was widely practiced at the time of Saint Augustine is evident from the constant reference to this custom in his *Enarrationes in Psalmos, Sermones,* and *Epistulae.* If the Christians were not surrounded by idol-worshippers and the evil influences of the celebrations and rites connected with idol-worship, such continual admonition on the part of Augustine would not have been necessary. He mentions the laws which prohibited public worship of idols and provided for the destruction of images and the confiscation of the temples. However, this procedure was not entirely effective, and the secret worship of idols went on in many places quite uninterrupted. Augustine, as noted in the references, advises the removal of the idols from the hearts of the people as the first essential step in the uprooting and elimination of the practice of offering sacrifice to pagan idols. He points out the futility of such pagan worship, and recalls that Rome suffered calamities even before the days of laws against pagan worship, when she was free to sacrifice to her pagan gods. Augustine speaks of the idols which are everywhere, even on men's private estates. They are characterized as earthen, insensate, of wood, bronze, silver, and gold. To those who say that they do not worship these but an invisible deity, he answers that their pagan divinities are malignant spirits. He says that the destruction of idols and their worship is to be attributed to the prophecies, the word of Christ, and the laws of Christian emperors. This worship is forbidden that men may learn to worship the Creator instead of the creature. Saint Augustine notes the great number who have forsaken their idols, deserted the temples, and become Christians. However, he states that the pagans who remain are a source of trouble for the Christians, because they do not understand the import of the laws enacted against the pagan worship; nor have they as yet an appreciation of the influence and effects of Christianity, an appreciation dulled to some extent by the example of some of the Christians who found it hard to break away from the pagan customs of long standing. Augustine's letter to the people of Madaura, who, he regrets, are still worshippers of idols, shows his deep concern in interesting them in the worship of the one true God. The constant allusions to idolatry show very strikingly that the uprooting of the worship of idols was a slow and gradual process which required much tact, patience, and able instruction in the new faith which was supplanting the ancient forms of worship.

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[58] . . . Expergiscimini aliquando, fratres mei, et parentes mei Madaurenses; hanc occasionem scribendi vobis Deus mihi obtulit. . . . Sed epistula mihi a vobis missa est, ut non impudens esset epistula mea, cum, occasione a vobis accepta: idolorum cultoribus de Christo aliquid loqueretur. Sed obsecro vos, si eum non inaniter in ea epistula nominastis, ut non inaniter, vobis ista scripserim. . . . Deus unus et verus vos ab omni huius saeculi vanitate liberatos convertat ad se, domini praedicabiles et dilectissimi fratres.—*Epist.* 232, 7.

2. Rites.

References to the rites connected with the worship of pagan gods are found in *Contra Faustum, Sermo ad Caesareensis Ecclesiae Plebem, Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum,* and *Epistulae.*

Contra Faustum.

Speaking of the names of the months, Augustine states that the month of February received its name from the rites of the Luperci, which were called Februae.[59] He makes notes of the fact that all the nations that came under the power of Rome adopted the pagan ceremonies of the Roman worship, with the exception of the Jewish nation.[60]

Sermo ad Caesareensis Ecclesiae Plebem.

In this sermon a passing reference is made to the offering of incense to idols. Upon refusing to perform this rite the person in question would be put to death.[61]

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[59] Sed et mensibus imposuerunt nomina deorum suorum . . . Porro . . . appellatus est, Februarius a Februis sacris Lupercorum. . . . *C. Faust.* 18, 5. See Pauly-Wissowa, XIII, 2, s. v. Lupercalia, 1823-1824.

[60] *C. Faust.* 12, 13.

[61] . . . Pone tus idolis, adora deos meos; non adorans occidatur ab inimico Christi: . . . *Serm. ad Caes.* 6.

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

In a sermon to the Christians, Augustine tells them that the pagans, from whose ranks they have come, adored in an unintelligent manner gods made by man and sang praises to them. It is beyond reason, he thinks, for a sensible man to sing to an insensible stone. And again he encourages them in their faith when he says that the Christians adore in the proper way, although they do not see the God Whom they adore.[62]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

In this work Augustine makes several passing comments on the sacred rites of the gods. He states that in general the Romans were tolerant of the worship of the deities of conquered nations and took over the supervision of the sacred rites of these divinities. However, they did not follow this principle in regard to the God of the Hebrews,[63] the God of Israel, Who foretold and commanded the destruction of the images and the suppression of the sacred rites of the gods, thereby showing that they are false and deceitful deities and that He is the one true God.[64] He refers to the fact that the Jewish nation did not accept the Roman rites which are connected with the worship of idols, even at the time of the subjugation of the Jews by the Romans.[65] The suppression of sacrilegious rites in honor of the gods is entirely in keeping with the words of the prophets.[66]

Epistulae.

Maximus of Madaura in a letter (390) to Augustine, states that the pagans worship their gods in open day, so that all men may see the sacrifices and hear the supplications offered. These were essential parts of the rites offered to the gods.[67] He adds that he is attracted to that which pleases him best. In his answer, Augustine says that Maximus does not seem to set any higher value on the sacred rites offered to the gods than the Christians do, but that he merely takes pleasure in them as in any other thing in life and excuses himself, as he had said, by saying he is drawn to that which pleases him.[68] He had said that their religious rites were performed in public. However, Augustine asks him about Liber, whose rites only the few who are initiated are privileged to see. He wonders if Maximus wanted him to recall only the public sacred rites.[69]

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[62] *In Psalm.* 46, 9.

[63] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 12, 18.

[64] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 25, 38.

[65] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 14, 22.

[66] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 34, 52.

[67] *Epist.* 16, 3.

Anxieties often arose concerning points which affected both the Christians and the pagans in their civil relations. For example, Publicola in 398 wrote to Augustine for advice concerning the fidelity to an oath to false gods taken by barbarians, and concerning the use of anything associated with the sacrifices to false gods or to idols. The reply of Augustine gives an insight into the many problems of this kind which necessarily came to his attention for settlement. Because of conditions on the frontiers and throughout all the provinces, he advises that respect be shown for the oaths of the barbarians, since the security of peace rests on these oaths. Grain and wine left after part of it has been taken for the worship of a false god may be used as uncontaminated. If the Christian had power to prevent its being taken for such purposes and did not exert his power, he is at fault. It is permissible to use water from fountains, even though it is certain that water has been taken from them for the purposes of idol-worship. Augustine says that the same principle would apply to the use of these things as to the air, into which the smoke and incense from sacrificial altars ascend. There can be no scruple about breathing this air. The blame lies in voluntarily giving anything to this false worship, or in encouraging it in anyway. Augustine warns the Christians not to appropriate to their own use any of the articles which they find in connection with the destruction of temples, idols, or sacred groves, as carried out in accordance with the will of the civil authorities. He likewise discusses carefully the procedure to be observed in the use of meats offered to idols.[70] Saint Augustine wrote a letter to Boniface (408) in answer to his inquiries regarding the harm arising from the custom of parents who brought their baptized children, when ill, to the sacrifices of the false gods of the heathen in order to be cured.[71]

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[68] *Epist.* 17, 3.

[69] *Epist.* 17, 4-5. See treatment of Liber, page 75.

[70] *Epist.* 46; 47, 2, 3, 4.

With reference to the value of the sacred rites of the pagan gods, Augustine, writing to Deogratias, states that if the pagans admit that the rites are of no advantage for the salvation of men, they are admitting that they are useless. It is his opinion that this is a great concession for the pagans to make. If they defend these rites, one may well ask what became of the people who lived before these rites were introduced. If they maintain that these people were cleansed from guilt in any other way, then there was no need for introducing novelties in worship, and the earlier forms of worship should have remained in use.[72]

The false gods, the demons, would never have required temples, sacrifice, and all the other rites connected with their worship, if they had not known that this honor was due to the one true God. All of this is baneful superstition when offered to the demons. The profane rites of the pagans call for criticism, because of the objects in whose honor they are offered; that is, idols and demons. These idols, when set up on thrones of honor, so affect the minds of worshippers praying and supplicating them that the idols seem to breathe and have life. The worshippers intent upon the performance of the rites are so completely overcome that they do not realize that these idols are without perception. Saint Augustine says that the explanation offered by the pagans that the rites interpret what is meant by the respective idols is of no avail, for all of this interpretation refers to the creature and not to the Creator, to Whom alone all true worship is due. The earth, the sea, the heaven, the sun, and the moon, and other celestial phenomena are not considered by the Christians as gods; nor do they offer sacrifice to any created thing, but to God, to Whom alone sacrifice is due.[73]

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[71] . . . Quaeris a me, *utrum parentes baptizatis parvulis suis noceant, cum eos daemoniorum sacrificiis sanare conantur. Et si non nocent, quomodo eis prosit, cum baptizantur, parentum fides quorum eis non potest obesse perfidia* . . . non autem peccat ipsa, cum parentes ei omnino nescienti, vel quilibet alius adhibet sacrilegia daemoniorum. . . . *Epist.* 98, 1.

[72] Huic propositioni respondetur, ut primo ipsi dicant utrum profuerint hominibus deorum suorum sacra, quae constat certis temporibus instituta. Quae si negant aliquid profuisse ad animarum salutem, nobiscum ea destruunt, et esse inania confitentur. Nos quidem etiam perniciosa monstramus; sed parum non est ut ipsi interim prius inania fateantur. Si vero ea defendunt, et sapienter atque utiliter asserunt instituta; quaero quid actum sit de his qui antequam haec instituta essent, morte obierunt: hac enim utique salute atque utilitate fraudati sunt. Si autem potuerunt alio modo purgari, cur non idem modus perseveravit in posteros? quid opus erat instituere novitias consecrationes, quae antiquitus non fuerunt? —*Epist.* 102, 9.

CONCLUSION (Rites)

The consideration of pagan rites shows that Saint Augustine was not interested in discussing them in any detail. With the exception of the rites of the Luperci and the rites of Liber, he does not distinguish as to the names of particular ceremonial rites. He comments on the fact that the supervision of rites of pagan divinities of conquered nations was taken over by the Romans, and remarks that the Jewish nation never adopted the pagan rites of the Romans, nor did the Romans accept the worship of the God of Israel as the rites of the deities of other nations were accepted. He declares that the God of Israel commanded the suppression of the rites of pagan gods. Scattered allusions to the character of the rites connected with the worship of the pagan divinities indicate that singing, supplication, incense, offerings of wine, grain, meats, and sacrifice of victims still constituted an essential part of the rites. Augustine characterizes the pagan rites as useless, sacrilegious, and as baneful superstition, which deceives the minds of the worshippers. The pagans' statement that the rites symbolize what is meant by the idols is unsatisfactory, since all this resolves itself into worship of the creature rather than of the Creator, to Whom alone worship is due.

3. Pagan Burial Customs.

Certain phases of the traditional pagan customs in honor of the dead persisted among the early Christians, references to which are noted in the *Confessions, De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae, Contra Faustum, Sermones,* and *Epistulae.*

Confessions.

In the *Confessions,* Augustine makes mention that his mother was wont to offer certain cakes, bread, and wine at the oratories of the martyrs. These offerings were then distributed to the poor. These offerings were made quite innocently by Monica; but, when she learned in Milan that this custom had been forbidden by Saint Ambrose, she willingly acceded to the regulation which had been made to prevent abuses which might arise because of the similarity between the festal occasions in honor of the martyrs and the superstitious practices of the pagans.[74]

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[73] *Epist.* 102, 18-20.

De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae.

In this work Augustine speaks of those Christians who do not give evidence of their faith, but, instead, practice superstitions and even worship tombs and pictures, thus showing themselves forgetful of what they have promised to God. He adds that those who commit excesses in honor of the dead are few among the great number of the Christians.[75]

Contra Faustum.

In answering the false accusation of Faustus that the Christians worship martyrs instead of idols and offer wine and food to appease their shades, Augustine explains that religious honor is paid to the martyrs, so that others may be encouraged to imitate them and to share in their merits. The altars are built to God, in honor of the martyrs, and not to the martyrs as if they were gods.[76]

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[74] *Conf.* 6, 2, 2. For a full treatment of the development of the cult of the martyrs and the abuses connected with it, see *Origines du culte des martyrs et l'agape*, in Cabrol-Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, I, 816-820. Abuses connected with this cult were particularly common in Africa. For an allusion to the cult, see letter of Maximus to Augustine, *Epist.* 16.

[75] . . . Nolite mihi colligere professores nominis christiani, nec professionis suae vim aut scientes aut exhibentes. Nolite consectari turbas imperitorum qui vel in ipsa vera religione superstitiosi sunt, vel ita libidinibus dediti, ut obliti sint quid promiserint Deo. Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores: novi multos esse qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni. Novi multos esse qui renuntiaverunt verbis huic saeculo, et se omnibus huius saeculi molibus opprimi velint, oppressique laetatur. . . . *Mor. Eccl.* 1, 34, 75.

[76] *C. Faust.* 20, 21.

Sermones.

It was hard for the recent converts to Christianity to distinguish between offerings made to perpetuate the memory of the dead and the ancient practice of making offerings to the dead. Augustine finds it necessary to tell his people that to place a meal for the dead is a pagan custom, since the custom does not come from the "stock and vein of justice" of the patriarchs.[77]

Epistulae.

Writing to Bishop Aurelius in 392, Augustine laments that in ceremonies intended to honor the martyrs excessive festivity and rioting has taken place, and that this has happened not only upon the annual festival, but every day. He states that in some places these festivals have never been celebrated and in other places they have been rooted out. Since the ignorant multitude are wont to consider these drunken revels and luxurious feasts a solace to the dead, Augustine suggests that measures be taken to dissuade the people from such scandalous and unworthy practices.[78]

In a letter (395) to Alypius, Bishop of Tagaste, Saint Augustine, speaking of the content of some of his sermons to the people, makes mention of what he had to say about the origin of the festivals in honor of the martyrs, which in his time were often characterized by excessive festivity. He states that after the persecutions a great number of pagans wished to become Christians, but many of them hesitated because they did not wish to give up the festivals customarily celebrated as a part of the worship of idols. Since it was not easy for them to refrain from such pleasures, concessions had been made and they had been permitted to celebrate festivals in honor of the memory of the martyrs in place of the festivals which they had renounced. The intention was not the same, but self-indulgence came to be a part of these festivals. Saint Augustine earnestly exhorts the Christians to submit to wholesome restraints and to disregard the concessions formerly granted to them.[79]

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[77] . . . Et haec quidem irrisit etiam Scriptura, dicens de quibusdam bona praesentia non sentientibus, *Tamquam si epulos,* iniquit, *mortuo, circumponas* (*Eccli.* XXX, 18): et manifestum est hoc ad mortuos non pertinere, et consuetudinem hanc esse Paganorum, non venire de propagine illa et vena iustitiae patrum nostrorum Patriarcharum, quibus exsequias celebratas esse legimus, parentatum esse non legimus. . . . *Serm.* 361, 6, 6.

[78] . . . Comessationes enim et ebrietates ita concessae et licitae putantur, ut in honorem etiam beatissimorum martyrum, non solum per dies solemnes (quod ipsum quis non lugendum videat, qui haec non carnis oculis inspicit), sed etiam quotidie celebrentur. Quae foeditas si tantum flagitiosa et non etiam sacrilega esset, quibuscumque tolerantiae viribus sustentandum putaremus . . . partim quia numquam facta sunt, partim quia vel orta vel inveterata, sanctorum et vere de vita futura cogitantium episcoporum diligentia et animadversione exstincta atque deleta sint, dubitamus quomodo possumus tantam morum labem, vel proposito tam late exemplo emendare? . . . *Epist.* 22, 3, 4, 6.

CONCLUSION (Pagan Burial Customs)

Out of the pagan customs in honor of the dead, abuses developed in the festivals held to honor the memory of the martyrs. It became necessary to take measures against these abuses. The allusions to the traces of these customs relating to the honoring of the dead show that this phase of paganism had a strong hold on the hearts of the people, even after they had become Christians.

4. Superstitious Practices.

Superstitious practices are referred to in the *Confessions, Contra Academicos, De Doctrina Christiana, In Iohannis Evangelium, De Catechizandis Rudibus, De Consensu Evangelistarum, Tractatus* (Morin), and *Epistulae.*

Confessions.

Augustine, even before his conversion, would have nothing to do with soothsayers. Accosted by a soothsayer when he was about to compete for a theatrical prize, he answered that he would not suffer a fly to be killed in order to win the prize, even if it were of imperishable gold. The soothsayer would slay certain living creatures in his sacrifice, and would thus invite demons to give their support to Augustine. The latter would not have sacrifice offered to demons in his behalf, although at that time he did not know the love of God.[80] Augustine did consult certain astrologers, when he was a young man, because they did not use sacrifices and did not invoke the aid of any spirit for their divinations; but this form of divination is also rightly rejected and condemned by Christian piety.[81] Saint Augustine's repudiation of the deceitful divinations and absurdities of the astrologers is discussed at length in the *Confessions.*[82]

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[79] . . . scilicet post persecutiones tam multas, tamque vehementes, cum facta pace, turbae Gentilium in christianum nomen venire cupientes hoc impedirentur, quod dies festos cum idolis suis solerent in abundantia epularum et ebrietate consumere, nec facile ab his perniciosissimis et tam vetustissimis voluptatibus se possent abstinere, visum fuisse maioribus nostris, ut huic infirmitatis parti interim parceretur, diesque festos, post eos quos relinquebant, alios in honorem sanctorum martyrum vel non simili sacrilegio, quamvis simili luxu celebrarentur: . . . *Epist.* 29, 9.

Contra Academicos.

In *Contra Academicos* Augustine speaks of a certain diviner, Albicerius, who has made many false pronouncements. He takes occasion to comment on the general falsity of the pronouncements of the haruspices and augurs and to reproach those who consult the stars and dream-interpreters. He declares that the prophets are in an entirely different category.[83]

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[80] . . . Recolo etiam, cum mihi theatrici carminis certamen inire placuisset, mandasse mihi nescio quam aruspicem, quid et dare mercedis vellem ut vincerem; me autem foeda illa sacramenta detestatum et abominatum respondisse, nec si corona illa esset immortaliter aurea, muscam pro victoria mea necari me sinere. Necaturus enim erat ille in sacrificiis suis animantia, et illis honoribus invitaturus mihi suffragatura daemonia videbatur. Sed hoc quoque malum non ex tua castitate repudiavi, Deus cordi mei. . . . Sed videlicet sacrificari pro me nollem daemonibus, quibus me illa superstitione ipse sacrificabam. . . . *Conf.* 4, 2, 3.

[81] Ideoque illos planos, quos mathematicos vocant, plane consulere non desistebam, quod quasi nullum eis esset sacrificium, et nullae preces ad aliquem spiritum ob divinationem dirigerentur: quod tamen christiana et vera pietas consequenter repellit et damnat. . . . *Conf.* 4, 3, 4.

[82] *Conf.* 7, 6, 8.

[83] . . . Scimus autem illum quem commemorasti multa saepe falsa dixisse, quod non solum aliis mihi referentibus comperi, sed praesens aliquando ipse percepi. Eumne igitur scientem vocem, cum saepe falsa dixerit; quem non vocarem, si cunctanter vera dixisset? Hoc me de aruspicibus et de auguribus, et de his omnibus qui sidera consulunt, et de coniectoribus somniorum dixisse putatote. Aut aliquam ex hoc genere hominum proferte, si potestis, qui consultus, numquam de responsis suis dubitaverit, numquam postremo falsa responderit. Nam de vatibus nihil mihi puto esse laborandum, qui mente loquuntur aliena.—*C. Acad.* 1, 7, 19.

De Doctrina Christiana.

Superstition plays an important part in everything that pertains to the making and worshipping of idols, or to consultations and pacts with demons, such as are used in the magical arts. Here belong the books of the haruspices and of the augurs, together with all amulets and charms, whether these consist of incantations or of marks called characters, suspended or worn not for the curing of bodies but for certain signs hidden or manifest. To avoid appearing to practice superstition, these remedies are given the name *physica,* as if making use of the forces of nature. Examples of such superstitious practices are ear-rings fastened to the top of each ear, rings made of ostrich bones worn on the fingers, or the practice of holding the left thumb in the right hand when having hiccups.[84] Saint Augustine warns the people against giving themselves over to signs, omens, or anything connected with the worship of idols. These observances are not appointed by God as the correct form of His worship. They tend only to urge men to private and selfish strivings after temporal things. The association with demons must be avoided, as well as the consultation of omens, which men have made up according to their own fancy.[85] As regards the rites of augury, Augustine states that they have no particular signification apart from the opinion in the mind of the interpreter before he observes the omens, such as the flight or the cries of birds.[86]

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[84] Superstitiosum est quidquid institutum est ab hominibus ad facienda et colenda idola pertinens, vel ad colendam sicuti Deum creaturam partemve ullam creaturae; vel ad consultationes et pacta quaedam significationum cum daemonibus placita atque foederata, qualia sunt molimina magicarum artium, quae quidem commemorare potius quam docere assolent poetae. Ex quo genere sunt, sed quasi licentiore vanitate, aruspicum et augurum libri. Ad hoc genus pertinent omnes etiam ligaturae atque remedia, quae mediocorum quoque disciplina condemnat, sive in praecantationibus, sive in quibusdam notis quos characteres vocant, sive in quibusque rebus suspendendis atque illigandis, vel etiam aptandis quodammodo, non ad temperationem corporum, sed ad quasdam significationes aut occultas, aut etiam manifestas; quae mitiore nomine physica vocant, ut quasi non superstitione implicare, sed natura prodesse videantur; sicut sunt inaures in summo aurium singularum, aut de struthionum ossibus ansulae in digitis, aut cum tibi dicitur singultienti, ut dextera manu sinistrum pollicem teneas.—*Doctr. Christ.* 2, 20, 30.

See C. Bonner, "Notes on the Paris Magical Papyrus" in *Classical Philology,* XXV, 180-183, for a discussion of the significance of the superstitious practice of holding the thumb.

[85] *Doctr. Christ.* 2, 23, 36.

In Iohannis Evangelium.

Here a man is advised to give up the use of amulets as means of curing his maladies, and to put all his hope in the Gospel.[87] Among the practices of magical arts mentioned by Augustine are the inspection of the entrails of slain animals and the interpretations of the cries and flights of birds. These and signs of a similar nature are contrary to the laws imparted to men.[88]

De Catechizandis Rudibus.

In a type of catechetical address suitable for the instruction of one about to became a Christian, Augustine states that such a one will see those who make use of sacrilegious charms, who consult sorcerers and astrologers and practise various kinds of divination, but that he must not be influenced by these into thinking that he can do the same when he becomes a Christian.[89]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

After questioning the pagans as to where the divinations and oracles of their gods are, Augustine makes the interesting reflection that nowhere in the records of the pagan religion is there any admonition or prediction offered in opposition to the Christian faith. They say that their gods have deserted them because they were offended, and that, consequently, the Christians hold the stronger position. Augustine challenges them to look into the books of their soothsayers and find any statement which shows that the Christians would bring this condition of affairs upon them. Further, he says, let them find any passage in which the God of

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[86] *Doctr. Christ.* 2, 24, 37.

[87] *In Evang. Ioh.* 7, 12.

[88] *In Evang. Ioh.* 97, 3.

[89] . . . Multos ergo visurus es ebriosos, avaros, fraudatores, aleatores, adulteros, fornicatores, remedia sacrilega sibi alligantes, praecantatoribus et mathematicis vel quarumlibet impiarum artium divinatoribus deditos. . . . Sed si hoc animo venisti, ut quasi securus talia facias, multum erras! . . . *Catech. Rud.* 25, 48.

Israel, Who, it is agreed, is instrumental in the abolition of other gods, is looked upon as worthy of blame or detestation. Such a passage will never be brought forth unless they devise it themselves. Its very nature will show that it is fictitious; and it will not have any influence, since it was not announced in the temples of the gods before the advent of Christianity.[90]

Tractatus, (Morin).

In *De dominico die octavarum sanctae Paschae,* Saint Augustine instructs the newly received converts as to those whom they should imitate, and tells them not to be influenced by the evil example of certain Christians who resort to superstitious practices, such as wearing characters suspended from the neck to alleviate a headache.[91] Among other admonitions given by Augustine in *De muliere Cananea,* is one to beware of blasphemies, amulets, incantations, and various superstitions.[92]

Epistulae.

There is an interesting reference to the African writer, Apuleius of Madaura, who was accused of practicing magical arts and had a reputation for being a wonder-worker.[93]

Besides the rites in honor of the deities, other kinds of superstitious practices were prevalent, such as consulting astrologers and magicians. The danger attendant upon any relation with magical arts is pointed out by Augustine in a letter to Marcellinus. He warns both those who, influenced by the hope of material prosperity, consult these arts, and those who even admire them but have no direct contact with them, to see how happiness has been gained by not having recourse to such arts. It is a great error to compare heathen magicians with the holy prophets, and a still greater error to compare them with Christ.[94]

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[90] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 32, 50.

[91] . . . Nolite dicere! . . . Quare, iste non fidelis est? et pythonissam interrogat. Quare, iste non fidelis est? et quando illi caput dolet, caracteres sibi ad collum ligat; et qui non vult mori, ad collum sibi ligat. . . . *Tract.* (Morin), 18, *De dominico die octavarum sanctae Paschae,* page 69.

[92] . . . Cavete a blasphemiis, a ligaturis, incantationibus, et a diversis superstitionibus. . . . *Tract.* (Morin), 331, *De muliere Cananea,* page 162.

[93] *Epist.* 138, 4, 18. See page 26 f. Apuleius is mentioned with Apollonius of Tyana. Both were set up by the pagans as rivals of Christ.

CONCLUSION (Superstitious Practices)

That there was a multiplicity of superstitious practices known and in active force in Augustine's time is quite evident from the number of references he makes to superstitions. His numerous admonitions to the Christians to refrain from everything which savored of magical arts, haruspices, astrologers, dream interpreters, fortune tellers, and sorcerers, indicate the attraction which superstitions had even for the Christians. The rites of augury, characterized especially by the interpretation of omens such as the flight and cries of birds and the inspection of entrails of slain animals, are condemned. So too, are prohibited the use of charms, amulets, marks or characters suspended from the neck, incantations for the purpose of warding off evil or curing maladies, and all other observances of a superstitious nature.

B. FESTIVALS AND GAMES.

Saint Augustine has made mention of pagan festivals and games only in so far as he was interested in admonishing the Christians against participation in these celebrations. He does not discuss the observances of these festivals and games in any detail. References to them are contained in *De Doctrina Christiana*, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, *De Consensu Evangelistarum*, *In Iohannis Evangelium*, *De Catechizandis Rudibus*, *Sermones*, and *Epistulae.*

De Doctrina Christiana.

A most significant passage relative to an ancient festival of Mars [1] is found in the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana.* Augustine, in illustrating the merits of the majestic style of oratory, speaks of his success in subduing the participants in the civil strife at Caesarea in Mauretania. This contest was known as the *Caterva,* because it was composed not only of citizens, but of fathers, brothers, sons, and neighbors who, as factions armed with stones, fought annually at a stated time for several days. He speaks of this practice as a horrible and barbarous custom which was handed down from one generation to another. In this passage Augustine states that for the past eight years this celebration has been discontinued. Thus, the *Caterva* mentioned can be dated approximately 418, since the fourth book of *De Doctrina Christiana* was completed about 426. It is a clear indication of the tenacity with which the people held to ancient customs.[2]

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[94] *Epist.* 138, 19 f.

[1] The festival of the October horse, at which a horse was offered in sacrifice to Mars. In the original celebration of the festival at Rome, factions from the Sacra Via and the Subura contested in the streets for the head of this horse, that the victors might set it up in their own quarters of the city.—Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, 145.

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

In *Enarratio in Psalmum* 147 Augustine pauses in his discourse to remark about those who have not come to the gathering of Christians on that day, because there is a pagan celebration which they are attending.[3]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Augustine refers to the closing of theatres, which he characterizes as places of iniquity and vice, in his answer to the accusation made by the pagans that Christianity has lessened the happiness of life.[4]

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[2] . . . cum apud Caesaream Mauritaniae populo dissuaderem pugnam civilem, vel potius plus quam civilem, quam *Catervam* vocabant; neque enim cives tantummodo, verum etiam propinqui, fratres, postremo parentes ac filii lapidibus inter se in duas partes divisi, per aliquot dies continuos, certo tempore anni solemniter dimicabant, et quisque ut quemque poterat occidebat: ego quidem granditer, quantum valui, ut tam crudele atque inveteratum malum de cordibus et moribus eorum avellerem pelleremque dicendo; . . . Quas (lacrymas) ubi aspexi, immanem illam consuetudinem a patribus et avis, longeque a maioribus traditam, quae pectora eorum hostiliter obsidebat, vel potius, possidebat, devictam, antequam re ipsa id ostenderent, credidi. . . . Et ecce iam ferme octo vel amplium anni sunt, propitio Christo, ex quo illic nihil tale tentatum est. . . . *Doctr. Christ.* 4, 24, 53.

Usener quotes this passage as a definite proof of the nature of the street battles which were engaged in at the time of the festival of the October horse in honor of Mars. For his discussion, see *Kleine Schriften,* IV, 435-437.

[3] . . . Hi sunt qui modo gaudent talibus pompis: inter illos sunt qui propterea hodie non venerunt, quia munus est. Cui munus est? cui damnum? Aut unde munus? aut unde damnum? . . . *In Psalm.* 147, 7.

In Iohannis Evangelium.

Augustine says that his instructions in this discourse apply particularly to those who, on a feast such as the Kalends of January, say that they ought not to fast on this day, and that it is permissible to give themselves up to pleasure. He says that he is simply relating things which happen every day; showing no doubt, how much patience was needed to eradicate the habits of long standing which he found ingrained in his people.[5] In another passage, he interrupts his discourse to chide the absent Christians who are attending a pagan festival. He wishes to impress his hearers with the fact that listening to the word of God is not sufficient, but that they must act in accordance with what they have heard. He asks how many, by hearing but not heeding, have been enticed to this annual celebration which is now going on. Toward the close of this discourse he says that he purposely has detained his hearers longer than usual until the dangerous hours of vanity have passed, and in closing he asks them to spend the rest of the Lord's day in spiritual joys.[6]

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[4] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 33, 51.

[5] . . . quod solemne est dico, quod quotidianum est dico, quo vocantur omnes dico, et in ista civitate, quando eis dicitur, Alogiemus, bene sit nobis, et tali die festo Ianuarium non debes ieiunare; ea dico levia, quotidiana. . . . *In Evang. Ioh.* 5, 17.

[6] . . . Iste enim dies qui laetus est perditis hodie in ista civitate, cras utique non erit: . . . Quantum pertinet ad numerum fratrum, difficile est ut quisquam illa celebritate raptus fuerit ex viris: quantum autem ad sororum numerum, . . . quas debuit si non timor, certe verecundia de publico revocare. . . . *In Evang. Ioh.* 7, 1, 2.

. . . Et si aliquanto vos diutius tenuimus, consilii fuit ut importunae horae transirent: arbitramur iam illos peregisse vanitatem suam. Nos autem, fratres, quando pasti sumus epulis salutaribus, quae restant agamus, ut diem dominicum solemniter impleamus in gaudiis spiritualibus, et comparemus gaudia veritatis cum gaudiis vanitatis: et si horremus, doleamus; si dolemus, oremus; si oramus, exaudiamur; si exaudimur, et illos lucramur.—*In Evang. Ioh.* 7, 24.

De Catechizandis Rudibus.

Throughout the works of Saint Augustine, there are frequent admonitions to the Christians concerning the non-participation in pagan festivals. Sufficient evidence is found to show that these festal days were still very popular and attracted great numbers of Christians who could not readily give up the old associations and pleasures. It took a long time for them to adjust themselves to a new manner of life. The same crowds that are present in the churches on the festal days of the Christians attend the celebration of the pagan festivals in the theatres.[7]

Sermones.

In a sermon preached on a festal day of the pagans, Augustine takes occasion to mention that a few are present at the sermon, and he hopes that they have profited by it.[8]

The pagan rites connected with the celebration of the Kalends of January held a peculiar attraction for the people. In a sermon delivered on the Kalends of January, Augustine compliments the Christians on spending the day in a becoming manner. He draws a vivid comparison between their activities and those of the pagans. If they had not withdrawn themselves from their pagan friends, they too would be engaged in exchanging New Year gifts, in singing songs of wantonness, in banqueting and in dancing, and would fill the theatre on this occasion. In lieu of this, it is their privilege to give alms to the poor, and to worship the true God in their churches. He says that they have separated themselves from the demons, who delight in songs of vanity, in a worthless spectacle, in the infamy of the theatre, the extravagance of the circus, the cruelty of the amphitheatre, the spirited contests of those who undertake contentions and quarrels, even to the point of personal enmity, in behalf of worthless men as the mimic actor, the actor, the ballet-dancer, the charioteer, and those who fight with wild beasts. Those who enjoy these festivities, as it were, offer incense to the demons. And the seducing spirits take delight in those who are seduced, and they feed upon the evil ways and the base and shameful life of those whom they have seduced.[9]

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[7] . . . Animadversurus etiam quod illae turbae impleant ecclesias per dies festos Christianorum, quae implent et theatra per dies solemnes Paganorum; et haec videndo ad imitandum tentaberis. Et quid dicam, videbis, quod etiam nunc iam utique nosti? non enim nescis multos qui appellantur christiani, haec omnia mala operari, quae breviter commemoravi. . . . *Catech. Rud.* 25, 48.

[8] . . . Pauci quidem convenistis: sed si bene audistis, abundatis. . . . *Serm.* 19, 6.

In commenting on the words, "*Manducemus et bibamus; cras enim morimur,*" Augustine states that the Christians ought to answer and say, "Let us fast and pray, for tomorrow we may die." Then he goes on to say that he wishes them to recall his words, especially on the festal days of the pagans.[10]

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[9] . . . Et modo si solemnitas Gentium quae fit hodierno die in laetitia saeculi atque carnali, in strepitu vanissimarum et turpissimarum cantionum, in conviviis et saltationibus turpibus, in celebratione ipsius falsae festivitatis, si ea quae agunt Gentes non vos delectent, congregabimini ex Gentibus. . . . Acturus es celebrationem strenarum, sicut paganus, lusurus alea, et inebriaturus te: quomodo aliud credis, aliud speras, aliud amas? . . . Dant illi strenas, date vos eleemosynas. Avocantur illi cantionibus luxuriarum, avocate vos sermonibus Scripturarum: currunt illi theatrum, vos ad ecclesiam: inebriantur illi, vos ieiunate. Si hodie non potestis ieiunare, saltem cum sobrietate prandete. . . . Itaque multi luctabuntur hodie in corde suo cum verbo quod audierunt. Diximus enim, Nolite strenas dare, date pauperibus. . . . Etenim illa daemonia delectantur nugatorio spectaculo, et turpitudinibus variis theatrorum, insani circi, crudelitate amphitheatri, certaminibus animosis eorum qui pro pestilentibus hominibus lites et contentiones usque ad inimicitias suscipiunt, pro mimo, pro histrione, pro pantomimo, pro auriga, pro venatore. Iste facientes, quasi tura ponunt daemoniis de cordibus suis. . . . *Serm.* 198, 1, 2, 3,

Among the *Sermones Supposititii*, two Sermons, 129 and 130, treat in great detail of the practices connected with this Feast. They show how widely celebrated this feast of the Kalends of January was, and that continual exhortation to the Christians was necessary to keep them from taking an active part in this festivity. In the late Empire the Kalends o January or New Year's Festival was celebrated with the greatest festivity and with considerable licentiousness, which received frequent reproache from ecclesiastical writers. For an account of this festival, see Pauly Wissowa, s. v. *Kalendae Ianuariae*, X, 1562-1564.

[10] . . . Prorsus et vos respondete, et dicite: Ieiunemus et oremus; cra enim moriemur. . . . Illud maxime tenete quare locuti sumus, praesertim propter dies festos istos, fratres mei, quos Pagani celebrant. . . . *Serm* 361, 19, 18; 20, 19.

Epistulae.

A contemporary reference to the exhibition of scenic games in honor of Flora is found in Augustine's letter (408) to Nectarius. He characterizes these games as dissolute and shameless, and from their nature he infers the character of the goddess in whose honor modesty and virtue are sacrificed.[11]

Definite reference to a Pagan festival held in Calama on the Kalends of June is made by Augustine in a letter to Nectarius (408). The merrymaking and dancing in front of the church resulted in the assailing of the church with stones. Augustine calls attention to impious rites carried on contrary to recent laws which forbade such public celebration in honor of the pagan gods.[12] This riotous attack on the church entailed considerable trouble and anxiety on the part of the clergy and the civil authorities. Augustine visited Calama and, after consoling the Christians, talked to the pagans and advised them as to their conduct in the present situation and in regard to their own salvation. He says that they had many questions to ask, but he does not give the impression that the interview was entirely satisfactory.[13]

In a letter (412) to Marcellinus, Augustine makes an historical reference to the licentious performances exhibited in honor of the gods during the days of the Republic, and states that the gods, instead of being pleased with these spectacles, should have punished the people for being present at them.[14]

CONCLUSION (Festivals and Games)

Saint Augustine takes special notice of only three outstanding festivals; namely, that of Mars, the Kalends of January, and a festival of Juno. The reference to the festival of Mars is of historical interest, since it shows how widespread the festivals originally celebrated at Rome had become, and is evidence of the persistence of such a festival, since 418 is the approximate date assigned for this celebration. The celebration connected with the Kalends of January was attractive and allured a goodly number of Christians to keep up the exchange of birthday gifts and good wishes on this day, together with participation in the general feasting which characterized this festival. Passing comments are made in regard to the absence of Christians from religious services, when pagan festivals are being celebrated. He makes direct reference to contemporary scenic games; for example, those in honor of Flora.

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[11] *Epist.* 91, 5. See page 44 f.

[12] *Cod. Theod.* XVI, 5, 41 (407).

[13] *Epist.* 91, 8, 10. This was one of the regular festivals in honor of Juno. See Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*, 101.

[14] . . . Adhuc ergo laudent reipublicae luxuriosam, licentiosam, planeque sacrilegam felicitatem, quae ista deorum probra confinxit, quae non solum in fabulis audienda posuit, verum etiam in theatris spectanda proposuit; ubi crimina plura essent quam numina, quae ipsi dii sibi exhiberi habebant libenter, qui in suos cultores vindicare debuerunt, quod ea saltem viderent patienter. . . . *Epist.* 138, 4, 18.

C. Places and Ministers of Worship.

In a most casual and incidental manner Saint Augustine speaks of worship being paid to the pagan divinities in temples and groves and carried out by pagan priests. References of this kind were noted in *De Divinatione Daemonum, Contra Faustum, Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Doctrina Christiana, De Consensu Evangelistarum, Sermones,* and *Epistulae.*

De Divinatione Daemonum.

A passing allusion is made to the destruction of temples and the overthrowing of images, which may be interpreted as showing that these things are displeasing to God.[1]

Contra Faustum.

Commenting upon the interpretation of fables by the pagans, Augustine states that the meaning of these is not always made clear, and that what is held sacred in the temples is sometimes laughed at in the theatres.[2]

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[1] . . . ad hoc quoque respondi: Nunc ergo ei displicent, cum templa et simulacra evertuntur, et illa Gentium sacrificia si facta fuerint, puniuntur. . . . *Divin. Daem.* 1, 3.

[2] . . . ex parte autem dissimulantes, dum ea rident in theatris quae venerantur in templis, in turpitudine nimium liberi, in superstitione nimium servi.—*C. Faust.* 12, 40.

De Doctrina Christiana.

In *De Doctrina Christiana* a passing historical reference based on Varro is made to a temple of Apollo, in which the statues of the Muses were to be placed as an offering.[3] That temples have been dedicated to Justice and Virtue, and that these virtues have been worshipped under the form of stones, does not mean that these virtues, which ought to have a place in the heart, are to be forsaken.[4]

De Consensu Evangelistarum.

Saint Augustine, in *De Consensu Evangelistarum,* speaks of a curious argument used by some of the Neoplatonists of his own time against the demolition of temples and the prohibition of pagan worship by the Christians. They claimed that Porphyry had consulted the pagan gods on the claims of Christ, and was advised by the oracles to praise Him; hence they were directing their attacks against the followers of Christ, on the ground that they were teaching a different doctrine than He taught. Augustine advises them to read the prophets who foretold the complete destruction of idols in Christian times.[5]

In speaking of the worship of Capitoline Jupiter, Augustine mentions his temple at Rome as a significant attestation that the Romans thought of him as the most exalted object of religious worship and as king of the gods.[6]

Sermones.

Augustine states that men are turning to God, the temples of the gods are being overthrown, and images are being broken.[7]

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[3] *Doctr. Christ.* 2, 17, 27.

[4] . . . aut quia iustitiae virtutique templa dedicarunt, et quae corde gestanda sunt in lapidibus adorare maluerunt, propterea nobis iustitia virtusque fugienda est. . . . *Doctr. Christ.* 2, 18, 28.

[5] *Cons. Evang.* 1, 15, 23; 16, 24.

[6] . . . Nam quia nihil superius solent colere Romani quam Iovem, quod Capitolium eorum satis aperteque testatur, eumque regem omnium deorum arbitrantur; . . . *Cons. Evang.* 1, 22, 30. See also *Cons. Evang.* 1, 23, 31-34.

[7] . . . Quod videtis modo praedicari nomen Christi per omnes gentes, converti homines ad unum Deum, dimitti idola, dimitti daemonia, everti templa, frangi simulacra; omnia ista nondum erant, tamen dicebantur, et modo videntur. . . . *Serm.* 328, 5.

Epistulae.

That the pagan gods were worshipped in temples and groves is evidenced by Augustine's reference to their destruction in the process of the removal of idols from private estates in his letter to Publicola (398). He speaks of the course to be followed regarding the use of the fruits of a garden belonging to an idol temple; and of the water of a well and fountain within the temple enclosure. Allusions made to the throwing of sacrificial offerings into such fountains indicate that active sacrifice to pagan divinities still obtained.[8] In a letter to Nectarius (408), a direct reference to contemporary worship of the pagan divinities is made, when Augustine speaks of the people assembling in the temples to hear the reading of the fables about the gods whose iniquities they laugh at in the theatres.[9]

Contra Faustum.

An incidental reference is made to the Luperci in *Contra Faustum,* where Augustine mentions the name February as connected with the rites of the Luperci.[10]

In *Contra Faustum* (400), Augustine points out the difference between pagan sacrifice and that of the Hebrews. In the former, sacrifice is offered to demons, who wish to be considered as gods; in the latter, the offerings are made to the one true God. In this passage Augustine makes a passing allusion to the Vestal virgins.[11]

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[8] . . . Et cum templa, idola, luci, et si quid huiusmodi, data potestate evertuntur, quamvis manifestum est cum id agimus, non ea nos honorare, sed potius detestari, ideo tamen in usus nostros privatos dumtaxat et proprios non debemus inde aliquid usurpare, ut appareat nos pietate ista destruere, non avaritia. . . . *Epist.* 47, 3, 4.

[9] *Epist.* 91, 5.

[10] *C. Faust.* 18, 5. See page 104 for citation of this passage and references.

[11] . . . ac per hoc tantum interest inter sacrificia Paganorum et Hebraeorum quantum inter imitationem errantem, et praefigurationem praenuntiantem. Sicut autem non ideo contemnenda vel detestanda est virginitas sanctimonialium, quia et Vestales virgines fuerunt; sic non ideo reprehendenda sacrificia Patrum, quia sunt et sacrificia Gentium: quia sicut inter illas virginitates multum distat, quamvis nihil aliud distet, nisi quae cui voveatur atque reddatur; sic inter sacrificia Paganorum et Hebraeorum multum distat, eo ipso, quod hoc solum distat, quae cui sint immolata et oblata: illa scilicet superbae impietati daemoniorum id ipsum sibi ob hoc

Enarrationes in Psalmos.

A passing historical reference is made to temples erected for pagan divinities, the setting up of altars, the organization of priesthoods and the offering of sacrifice.[12]

Sermones.

Sermon 328 contains a reference to the slaying of the raving priests who served in the temples.[13]

Epistulae.

In a letter to Deogratias (409), Augustine mentions temples, priesthoods, and sacrifice among the demands that had been made by the pagan gods for their worship. He remarks that the matter of building temples, organizing priesthoods, and offering sacrifice is not objectionable in itself, but is blameworthy as the practice is known among the pagans in as much as all this is done in the service of demons and idols.[14]

arrogantium, quo haberentur dii, quia divinus honor est sacrificium; illa vero uni Deo ut ei offerretur similitudo promittens veritatem sacrificii, cui erat offerenda ipsa reddita veritas in passione corporis et sanguinis Christi.—*C. Faust*, 20, 21.

[12] . . . Et tamen gentes omnes sub daemonibus erant: daemonibus templa fabricata sunt, daemonibus arae constructae, daemonibus sacerdotes instituti, daemonibus oblata sacrificia, daemonibus arreptitii tamquam vates inducti. Haec omnia daemonibus gentes exhibuerunt; haec omnia vera nonnisi uni magno Deo debentur: templum fecerunt gentes daemonibus. . . . *In Psalm.* 94, 6.

[13] . . . Omnes Pagani, impii quaecumque patiuntur, pro falsitate patiuntur. . . . Videte quanta patitur, cuius ubique templa evertuntur, cuius ubique idola franguntur, cuius ubique sacerdotes et arreptitii caeduntur. Numquid potest dicere: Et ego martyr sum, quia tanta patior! . . . Quia si in bona causa accedit ad poenam, post poenam accipiet et coronam.—*Serm.* 328, 4, 4.

[14] Hoc sane nec in ista brevitate praetereundum est, quod templum sacerdotium, sacrificium, et alia quaecumque ad haec pertinentia, nisi uni vero Deo deberi nossent dii falsi, hoc est daemones, qui sunt praevaricatores angeli, numquam haec sibi a cultoribus suis, quos decipiunt, expetissent . . . cum autem daemonibus, secundum eorum impiam superbiam, noxia superstitio. Quapropter qui christianas Litteras utriusque Testamenti sciunt, non hoc culpant in sacrilegis ritibus Paganorum quod construant templa, et instituant sacerdotia, et faciant sacrificia; sed quod haec idolis et daemoniis exhibeant. . . . *Epist.* 102, 3, 18.

In a letter to Marcellinus (412), Augustine makes an interesting allusion to Apuleius acting in the capacity of a provincial priest, as so desirous of fame that he gave spectacles of gladiatorial combats and provided the dress of those who took part in the games, in order to have a statue of himself erected in the town of Coea.[15]

Conclusion (Places and Ministers of Worship)

In general terms Augustine refers to temples, groves, and sacred fountains as places of pagan worship. Definite reference is made to the capitol of Jupiter, and to the temples of Apollo, Justice, and Virtue. An interesting historical reference is made to Apuleius as a provincial priest, and a passing allusion is made to the Vestal virgins. There is no detailed mention of the ministers appointed to carry out the pagan rites in the temples.

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[15] *Epist.* 138, 19, 20.

CONCLUSION

A survey of the references to pagan divinities and their worship in the works of Saint Augustine falling within the scope of this study shows that he was concerned with a very practical problem. Paganism was still an active force, and he faced the necessity of breaking down its power. Allusions made by Augustine to the pagan divinities and their rites are incidental to his primary purpose, which was to convince his contemporaries of the superiority of Christianity over paganism. His allusions to the active worship of pagan divinities, especially Jupiter, Juno, Hercules, Neptune, Liber, and Flora, give evidence that these cults had a strong hold on the people. His frequent warnings to his audiences to avoid coming under the influence of Jupiter, Mars, Saturn, Venus, and Mercury particularly, through the practices of astrology, indicate the universal and powerful attraction which astrology had in that age even for Christians. Idol worship was still widespread in Augustine's time, as is evident from his frequent references to idols and their worship. From his allusions it is clear that this form of pagan worship continued to exist in spite of the laws prohibiting it. Closely associated with the worship of idols were many superstitious practices which Augustine repeatedly condemned.

One of the strongest arguments that Augustine used in proving the futility of worshipping pagan divinities was the rationalistic view of the divinities held by eminent pagan writers, who maintained that the pagan gods were originally men. He pointed out that these divinities were worshipped chiefly for temporal advantages and he cited historical instances to show that the pagan gods were powerless to obtain even temporal favors for their worshippers. Again and again it was necessary for him to refute the pagan charges that the downfall of Rome was occasioned by Christianity and the prohibition of pagan sacrifice to the gods. At such times he readily drew upon his knowledge of historical facts to show that the protection afforded Rome by her pagan gods was ever ineffectual. His thorough knowledge of the various historical interpretations of the pagan divinities and his own observation gave him an understanding of the character and spirit of the pagans of his time and enabled him to meet their difficulties with a sympathetic kindliness which won their interest and prepared the way for their acceptance of Christianity. His appeal was, in part, to the Christians to be thoroughly Christian in spirit and in practice, in order that their example might not be an obstacle to the pagans but rather an incentive to them to become Christians. Gentle persuasion and good example were strong factors in his intercourse with the pagans.

Upon first thought it seems surprising that in these works Saint Augustine said so little about the definite details of the pagan worship, although he gave ample evidence that it was actively practiced in his own time. Apparently, he was less interested in describing the various aspects of the pagan worship than in using allusions and references to pagan opinions and practices for purposes of illustration and refutation. Furthermore, it was not necessary that he should give complete characterizations of ceremonial rites, the duties of the organized priesthoods, and the procedure in festivals held in honor of the pagan gods, as these were details with which the people of that time were quite familiar. The majority of the references to the pagan divinities and their worship occur in *Enarrationes in Psalmos, De Consensu Evangelistarum, Sermones,* and *Epistulae,* in all of which Saint Augustine made a direct appeal to his contemporaries to abandon every vestige of paganism and to grasp the full significance of Christianity.

TABLE OF AUGUSTINE'S WORKS[1]

Title	Date	Abbreviation
Retractationum l. II	427	*Retract.*
Confessionum l. XIII	397–398	*Conf.*
PHILOSOPHICAL		
Contra Academicos l. III	386	*C. Acad.*
De Beata Vita	386	*Beat. Vit.*
De Libero Arbitrio l. III	388–395	*Lib. Arb.*
De Ordine l. II	386	*Ord.*
De Quantitate Animae	387–388	*Quant. Anim.*
APOLOGETICAL		
De Civitate Dei l. XXII	413–426	*Civ.*
De Divinatione Daemonum	406–411	*Div. Daem.*
DOGMATIC		
De Fide rerum quae non videntur	400	*Fid. Invis.*
DOGMATICO-POLEMICAL		
Contra Faustum l. XXXIII	400	*C. Faust.*
De Haeresibus ad Quodvultdeum	c. 428	*Haer.*
De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae et De Moribus Manichaeorum l. II	388–389	*Mor. Eccl.* *Mor. Manich.*
ANTIDONATIST		
Contra Cresconium	405	*C. Cresc.*
Contra Epistulam Parmeniani l. III	c. 400	*C. Parm.*
Contra Litteras Petiliani l. III	401–402	*C. Petil.*
Sermo ad Caesareensis Ecclesiae Plebem	418 (September 18)	*Serm. ad Caes.*
ANTIPELAGIAN		
Contra Iulianum haeresis Pelagianae defensorem l. VI	421	*C. Iul.*

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[1] **Only such works are listed here as were found to contain material for the present study. The chronological data are based on Monceaux, de Labriolle, and Bardenhewer.**

EXEGETICAL

Title	Date	Abbreviation
De Consensu Evangelistarum l. IV	400	*Cons. Evang.*
De Doctrina Christiana l. IV	397–426	*Doctr. Christ.*
De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus	393–394	*Gen. ad Litt. Imperf.*
De Genesi ad litteram l. XII	401–415	*Gen. ad Litt.*
Enarrationes in Psalmos[2]: 25 II; 26; 31; 34, *Serm.* I; 40; 44; 45; 46; 61; 62; 64; 80; 85; 88, *Serm.* II; 93; 94; 96; 98; 104; 113, *Serm.* II; 120; 127, *Serm.* (b); 128; 134; 135; 140; 145; 147	415	*In Psalm.*
Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata Expositio	394	*In Rom. Imperf.*
Expositio ex Epistula ad Romanos	c. 394	*In Rom.*
In Iohannis Evangelium Tract. CXXIV	416–417	*In Evang. Ioh.*
Quaestionum in Heptateuchum l. VII	419	*Quaest. Hept.*
MORAL THEOLOGICAL		
De Catechizandis Rudibus	400	*Catech. Rud.*
De Vtilitate Ieiunii	uncertain	*Vtil. Ieiun.*
SERMONES[3]		
Serm. 19; 24; 46; 62; 71; 81; 105; 141; 149; 197; 198; 241; 273; 296; 326; 328; 351; 361	391–430	*Serm.*
TRACTATUS (Morin)		
Tract. 18, *De dominico die octavarum sanctae Paschae*	uncertain	*Tract.*
Tract. 22, *De natale sancti Iohannis Baptistae*	“	“
Tract. 26, *De natale sancti Cypriani, I*	“	“
Tract. 28, *De natale sancti Cypriani, III*	“	“
Tract. 33, *De muliere Cananea*	“	“
EPISTULAE		
Epist. 3 *Ad Nebridium*	387	*Epist.*
Epist. 16 *Maximi Madaurensis ad Augustinum*	390	“

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[2] Monceaux dates *Enarratio in Psalmum* 85, before 420; *Enarratio in Psalmu* 145, between 405-410; *Enarratio in Psalmum* 147, between 412-420.

[3] The earliest sermon of Saint Augustine we possess is No. 214, for the ye 391, and the last sermon is No. 345, after the year 428. See de Labriolle, 561

Title	Date	Abbreviation
Epist. 17 *Ad Maximum Madaurensem*	390	*Epist.*
Epist. 22 *Ad Aurelium*	392	"
Epist. 29 *Ad Alypium*	395	"
Epist. 46 *Publicolae ad Augustinum*	398	"
Epist. 47 *Ad Publicolam*	398	"
Epist. 50 *Ad Auctores ac principes vel seniores Coloniae Suffectanae*	399	"
Epist. 91 *Ad Nectarium*	408	"
Epist. 93 *Ad Vincentium*	409	"
Epist. 97 *Ad Olympium*	408	"
Epist. 98 *Ad Bonifacium*	408	"
Epist. 102 *Ad Deogratiam*	409	"
Epist. 104 *Ad Nectarium*	409	"
Epist. 138 *Ad Marcellinum*	412	"
Epist. 185 *Ad Bonifacium*	417	"
Epist. 232 *Ad Madaurenses*	uncertain	"
Epist. 245 *Ad Possidium*	"	"
Epist. 246 *Ad Lampadium*	"	"

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